THE MYSTIC CHAIN OF DISCOVERY

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W. T. RIGDON

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W. T. Rigdon

Mystic Chain of Discovery

The Era of Great Awakening, from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century—The Leading Characters in the Drama—The Final Settlement in the Northwest

By W. T. RIGDON
Author of *"Truth in Pleasant Rhymes"*

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By W. T. Rigdon
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PREFACE

The writer of this book was brought across the plains from Iowa to Oregon in 1850, when he was but one year old. He obtained the rudiments of an education in the log school house and later enjoyed the blessings of a higher educational school for six months in Willamette University in Salem, Oregon. The pinchings of poverty in a country just wrested from the Indians were ever nipping at his heels. After reaching the 69th year of his age, he found some leisure at the time of the opening of the world war and improved the time in reading and writing. In his seventy-sixth year he put out a two hundred page book of poems which had been written at short intervals of respite between laboring hours. After retiring from business in his seventy-fifth year he took up the study of local and general history as a specialty. As he grew up in the great northwest, he knew little of the outer world until he became enlightened by studying the other parts of the world and upon determining in his own mind that the great northwest was the paradise of God's footstool and was the last to be settled and developed, he became enthusiastic in an effort to learn just how its discovery was brought about after nearly two thousand years from the beginning of the christian era and one thousand years after the spirit of adventure had begun to burn in the hearts of a few bold and restless men, and who struck the flint that blazed thereafter until his own country saw the beacon that attracted the home seeker to this fair and goodly land. How was the great era inaugurated? How was it sustained during the long span of its growth? What kind of men were those who strove even to their deaths for the lure they heard but could not see? There was something beyond the vision of man and they would find it or die in the attempt, which most of them did, but no gap was made that was not quickly filled. Were they infatu-

ated from motives for the advancement of science? Possibly, yes, in some cases, but not generally. Vain glory, greed and avarice appear to have been the ruling passions. After considering all these matters, this writer has undertaken, as near as he can, after consulting many histories of many nations, to group those men together and show, if possible, how each caught the fever and gained the fervor from a predecessor until we have a chain reaching from Marco Polo to Robert Gray; from the Danube to the Columbia. We have selected a few notable cases and gave their doings that the reader may study their characters, their motives and desires and learn both how and why these explorers risked their lives and their fortunes in the mad rush for explorations. And further, that we may know who were worthy of honors and who were not. And then a word may be said in behalf of their beneficiaries who settled the great northwest under the most trying conditions and circumstances and today enjoy the pleasures of life in the extreme. We have endeavored to sprinkle in enough thrilling stories, but true, to break the ordinary monotony of the usual treatment of historical facts.

The reader must observe that I have not attempted to give the history of all the major explorers and the great explorations, but only those that have in some way contributed to the discoveries, finally, in the northwest. Those of Cabot and others who made explorations along the western shores of the Atlantic that in no way concerned the Pacific northwest, have not been noticed in this work. However, the Spanish explorers in the West Indies have been touched upon in order to introduce their manner of treating the Indians and for the introduction of Vasco Nunez Balboa, the pretended discoverer of the Pacific Ocean and the committer of the most diabolical acts of cruelty known in the annals of crime. A great man with a powerful intellect, who lost his head for his unfaithfulness to superiors.

November, 1929. W. T. RIGDON.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

COLUMBUS discovered the western continent in the year 1492. Up to this time Europe, Asia and Africa were supposed to comprise the whole landed parts of the world. The inhabitants of these countries had but a vague conception of the extent of even the land on which they lived. True, there were those who believed that the earth was a sphere and revolved about the sun, but the people generally did not accept this theory, for they thought the earth was stationary, and somehow, the sun revolved around the earth. Columbus belonged to the cult that had the new or advanced idea, and he was anxious to test the matter out for himself, and later was determined, if he could get assistance, to do so. Yet Columbus had no real conception of the immensity of the earth's surface.

He first applied to his own country, Portugal, but he got what in this day we call "the horse laugh." He then traveled to all the important governments of the time, and finally prevailed upon the Queen of Spain to outfit him for the expedition of discovery. Of the story of Queen Isabella pledging her jewels to the brokers for the money for the expedition and the de-details of the preparations for the voyage, we will not give the particulars.

Columbus set sail on Friday, August 3, 1492, with three ships, namely, the Pinta, the Santa Maria and the Nina, and ninety men, mariners, provisioned

for a year. The historian tells us that "Columbus was now fairly afloat after his long, weary, dismal life of a suitor for the sharp, intensive anxiety of a struggle in which there was no alternative other than success or deplorable, ridiculous, fatal failure." Columbus says, "Eight years I was torn with disputes, and, in a word, my proposition was a mockery."

The account of the trip was set down in the diary of Columbus and has many times been published, but as it is rather dry and tedious, we will only mention the last days when his men became almost riotous for fear that after thirty days sailing they would get lost and not be able to find the way home. Columbus had to promise them that unless they sighted land within three days, he would turn back.

It is said that when he had refused to cruise around on account of seeing some indications of land, he said afterward, "I did not choose to stop, beating about last week during those days that we had such signs of land, although we had knowledge of there being certain islands in that neighborhood, because I would not suffer any detention, since my object was to go to the Indies, and if I should stop on the way, it would show a want of mind."

Columbus was much annoyed by the fear of his men, but before the three days were gone, he heard the cry of "land!" by one of his men, and on Friday, October 12, 1492, they dropped anchor and debarked on the island. This cry of land was from the Santa Maria at ten o'clock in the evening, but Rodrigo, a private soldier on the Pinta in advance had sighted land at two o'clock in the morning. But the reward which

their Highnesses promised as a pension to the one who should first see land was given to Columbus. This reward of two thousand maravedis was paid annually to Columbus down to his dying day.

This is the index to the character of the Admiral. We would not mention this but we wish, as said before, to learn the kind of men who were the discoverers of not only America, but of discoverers in general. The clerigo took the matter up with their Highnesses and concluded to spiritualize the offer, and since the light seen by Columbus meant a spiritual light in spiritual darkness, he was entitled to the reward. It even was presumed that no common soldier could discern spiritual darkness or spiritual light. When it suited their purpose, those royal incumbents could reason out any conclusion from the law that was desirable. Religion is as flexible as India rubber in the hands of unlimited power. The annals of Spanish subjugation will prove the truth of the above statement, on almost every page.

The men who had given the admiral so much trouble were now imploring his pardon and swearing fidelity for the future. This proves the old adage—there is nothing that succeeds like success. Columbus was too happy to hold any hardness against any one. So he graciously forgave all that had been done or said against him. All hands went ashore and were welcomed as royally as such uncivilized people could possibly conceive.

Columbus was now ready to go through the formalities of taking the country into the possession of the king and queen of Spain. It is not likely that the

Indians understood what this declaration meant or Columbus would not have been treated so amicably. "Because they had much friendship for us and I knew they were people that would deliver themselves to the Christian faith, and be converted more thoroughly by persuasion than force, I gave to them some colored caps and some strings of glass beads for their necks, and many other things of little value, with which they were delighted, and were so entirely ours that it was a marvel to see. They came afterwards swimming to the ship's boats, where we were, and brought us parrots, cotton thread in balls, darts and many other things, and bartered them with us for things we gave to them —bells and glass beads. In fine they gave all whatever they had and with good will. But it appeared to me that they were a people very poor in every thing. They went totally naked, as naked as their mothers brought them into the world."

He also spoke of their faces being so very well made, but hair "like horsehair." The color of their skin was yellow, and they painted themselves. They neither carried weapons, nor knew what they were for. When they were shown our swords they did not know how to use them. "They ought to make faithful servants and of good understanding, for I see very quickly they repeat all that is said to them; and I believe they would easily be converted to Christianity, for it appears to me that they have no creed." It would appear that Columbus was interested in their real welfare, but the hint he dropped about good servants shows that he was thinking of slavery; also, as he took several natives home with him for that purpose.

When the news of the discovery reached Spain and was spread abroad, and when the success of the expedition and the wonderful discovery was reported to the world or rather to the eastern continent, it woke the nations up as from a long dream. Seafaring men everywhere were all afire for fame and fortune which seemed within easy reach.

Columbus verily believed that he had reached the western shore of India, and he had not learned his mistake at the time of his death.

It was not yet proven that the world is round. Expeditions for discovery were the order of the day. Further expeditions must be made. Spain was the maritime power and at this time was in the zenith of her greatness, and was ambitious to maintain her leadership and superiority. Columbus made many voyages to the new world, first touching the main land on the coast of what is now South America, on his third voyage.

In 1511 the island of Cuba was conquered by Spain. In 1513 Balboa crossed the isthmus and discovered the Pacific Ocean, and in a spectacular display, declared that Spain, through his discovery was the owner and possessor of all the lands whose shores were washed by the waters of this great South Sea. This discovery was the first ground for claim on the northwest, which includes the state of Oregon. A very flimsy claim, yet the reader will remember that this claim was mentioned and surrendered in the deed of purchase of Florida from Spain by the United States in the year 1803. This point was made by our government when we were contending with England for our rights in the Oregon country in 1846.

In 1520 Magellan sailed around the mainland of South America, through the strait which he named for himself, "Magellan." He continued to sail, and discovered the Philippine Islands, where he was murdered by the natives. But his ships sailed on west until home was reached without changing course from west to east.

In 1537 Cortez invaded and conquered Mexico in one of the bloodiest campaigns recorded in all history. DeSoto discovered the Mississippi River and laid claim for France to all the lands west of that great river and the lands whose waters flowed into the mighty river. By this time several different nations had begun to plant colonies east of the Allegheny Mountains.

About the time the struggle began by the colonies east of the Allegheny Mountains for independence the land claimed by the various countries was about as follows: The French claimed all lands drained by the Mississippi. Spain claimed all lands south of the struggling colonies, France all lands north of the colonies. Spain also claimed Mexico, and made her flimsy claim of all lands north to the Russian claim at the fifty-fourth degree and forty minutes north latitude.

The wild era of conquest and discovery lasted for more than a hundred years, and possibly only a fraction of the expeditions were ever recorded, only a part of the hundreds of ships that went down in disaster, or of the thousands of men who lost their lives in the wild frenzy for discovery were ever reported before the craze abated. Then for the next hundred years the peaceful waves of the great Pacific were not disturbed

by the ardent spirits of the bold adventurers or by the prowling free-booters.

The nations had all stopped to "take account of stock" and to defend their claims, quarrel over possessions or dicker with each other as necessity required. The English colonies became embroiled in controversy with the mother country, and for eight years warred for their freedom. England had become the undisputed owner of all Canada, France had ceded all Louisana west of the Mississippi to Spain, and all the territory lying between Mexico on the south and Canada on the north to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude. The western line had not been determined, but was supposed to run along the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

While the era of exploration on the waters had materially slackened, the exploration on land had steadily been pushing westward from the Mississippi in the interest of trade only, as all the country west of the river had been only partially explored, and that by hunters and trappers. But none had gone beyond the summit of the Rocky Mountains as they were supposed to be almost impassible. The great Hudson Bay Company and later the Northwestern Company, both English, had thousands of men, mostly Canadians and English in their employ. A few American companies and some individuals were also enjoying a lucretive business in furs. New York and Montreal were the purchasing marts for this trade.

About this time, late in the eighteenth century, Spain had deeded Louisana and her vast territory north and west back to France. The great Napoleon, then Emperor

of France had become embroiled in war with England, and was fearing that England would undertake to dispossess France of that vast domain known as Louisana and that he was likely to lose the whole country, so wished to sell it. Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States had for sometime desired to obtain equal rights of navigation on the Mississippi River with all nations on that great artery of commerce. With that object in view, Mr. Jefferson appointed John Adams and Robert Livingston as commissioners to go to France and negotiate with Napoleon for the purchase of the desired right, authorizing them to offer Napoleon five million dollars for navigation rights on the river.

These commissioners immediately embarked for France and made the offer to the doughty Napoleon. Napoleon was so eager to dispose of the whole country that he would not consider the offer, but made them the counter offer to sell all the entire claim of France for the price of fifteen million dollars and take government bonds in payment. This was an astounding proposition, but the commissioners had not been authorized to involve their country in any such sum. What was to be done? The Emperor of France would not wait the long delay of communication with President Jefferson.

A crisis was looming up before these commissioners Uncle Sam did not wish to have John Bull for a neighbor, as the memory of the late struggle for independence was yet fresh in the minds of the people of the United States. After due consideration, the commissioners accepted the offer—not a penny an acre for an empire.

Jefferson had been represented as a man of great vision by historians generally, and during the latter part of his administration this was true. But at the time he commissioned Adams and Livingston to negotiate the Louisana Purchase he was an anti-expansionist, and had always been of the opinion that the United States was large enough for governmental purposes. This doctrine of the president was well known to the commissioners, but they would risk the effort to win him over, which they succeeded in doing upon their return.

The President was amazed at the report of the purchase, but the manner of payment was so liberal that the proposition could be handled if congress could be brought to see the possibilities in the purchase. Jefferson caught the vision and became greatly interested, and succeeded in bringing congress to look favorably upon the purchase. Jefferson had now caught the great vision of his life. He could see the possibility of the United States becoming the great power of the western continent.

Determined to know what he had purchased and what was the source of the Columbia River so recently discovered by Gray, President Jefferson authorized the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, which was organized and equipped that summer and started on the great expedition in the spring of 1804. When taking the deed of the Louisana Purchase from Spain, the boundary lines agreed upon by France and England were as follows: North, the 49th degree of latitude; east the borders of the United States; south, Mexico, Florida and the Gulf; west, supposedly the summit of the

Rocky or Shining Mountains. Since Robert Gray, an American ship captain had discovered the Columbia River in 1792, giving the United States a claim on the Oregon country (the great northwest), it became quite desirable to learn the country drained by that great river, and Mr. Jefferson was anxious to get this information as soon as practicable. It was plain to him, now, that if we had title to the Oregon country, it would be an absolute necessity that we should have an overland route of communication to the extreme west. Lewis and Clarke spent two years in reaching the Pacific Ocean, and one year in returning, When Mr. Jefferson received the report that his explorers had traced the Missouri to its source, and the Columbia from its source to its confluence with the great Pacific Ocean, no doubt he experienced the happiest moment of his life. He later purchased Florida from the Spaniards, which was the whole of their claim in the North, beyond Mexico. Our government, it will be seen, now took a greater interest in the Pacific Ocean than before.

It is now desirable that we should learn about the discovery of the Pacific, this great ocean of the world —who should claim the honor of its discovery, the circumstances leading up to the wonderful accomplishment, the effect this discovery had upon the world at large, and how the great Northwest finally became peopled and controlled by the United States.

Everything of importance which had come to pass on this globe, influenced by humanity, had had a very small beginning. Had man only the perception and sufficient knowledge, he could trace from present accomplishments, a thread running back through all

history from effects to causes of every condition of present situations. Every effect is produced by cause, then that effect becomes a cause. Since this is true, to give the history of a nation, or a people absolutely fully, the historian would have to go back to the origin of man himself. However, it is generally considered necessary, only to go back to that people or nation whence came these discoverers. How did they get their inspiration, what of their personalities? Vasco Nunez de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean, surely every reader knows that much about the great fact. But how did he happen to do it? What were the circumstances, or did it just happen? No, it did not just happen, nothing happens in the true sense of the word. These chapters will be devoted to the elucidation of the causes which brought about these great accomplishments.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF EARLY DISCOVERIES

THE early history of mankind, someone has said, is little more than a history of wars, the overpowering of the weak by the strong and the enslaving of the conquered. As intelligence and population increased, the desire to appropriate the lands of neighbors increased accordingly. The conquerer, whether more or less numerous than the conquered, was sure to subject the conquered to servitude. This practice led to slavery. The greed for more land and more slaves became the great incentive. The Egyptians, probably, set the most noted example in the matter of slavery and the Hebrews, many years later, the most noted example of greed for land. Acquisition was the incentive and greed was the impulse that stirred all nations according to their abilities in equipment and strength. The principle of avarice led to the destruction of ancient systems of governments. But one, notably China, has lived beyond fifteen hundred years. The greed for slaves and land possessions flourished with the Romans. This became the power that controlled nearly all the known world. The fruits of the spear and sword were the legitimate title to everything acquired by force. This was a wicked theory and a beastly practice, and like greatness everywhere, which is built on false or wicked premises, must fall, so Rome fell. Her premises were false, her foundations were defective, her ambitions

were murderous, and so were all the governments that preceded her. When Rome fell, the embers of civilization were scattered throughout all civilized and semi-civilized peoples of the earth. Their fires burned feebly through the dark ages.

During and throughout all these warring ages there were a few great men whose names have defied the destructive forces of time to eliminate. Such are the names of Noah, Moses, Solomon, Caesar and Alexander. Possibly their spirit of firmness, their feelings for the oppressed may have been engrafted on the scions of later ages, and upon those still living today.

During the glory of the Roman empire, the spirit of greed—greed for slaves, drove the people to look for new lands to conquer. These were found in the Canary Islands, along the west coast of north Africa. From the mildness of the climate, these were called the "Elysian Fields," and "Fortunate Islands of Antiquity." More than a dozen governments have at different times, owned these islands. As the downfall of the Romans brought on the dark ages, these islands were, for a time, forgotten. The spirit of adventure and discovery aroused by the Romans had almost died out, had been absorbed by the struggle for existence, until about the ushering in of the fifteenth century. The loadstone had now become known, and the mariners were not so afraid of becoming lost should they sail beyond the sight of land. The Canary Islands were remembered and rediscovered. Lascasas, a Spanish historian, tells us that an English or French vessel enroute to Spain was driven by contrary winds to the Canary Islands, and on its return in 1344, spread

abroad in France, the full report of this voyage and discovery. This report was of such significance that it has been preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid.

We have gone back thus far to advise the reader of the very first impulse for discovery which started from a mere freak of the east wind. France undertook to acquire these islands by virtue of this accidental rediscovery, but her appointee died before he had an opportunity to visit the islands, so the matter was dropped by France. The next mention of these islands, which we find in history was in the time of "Don Juan the First, of Castile, and Don Enrique, his son." These islands were much visited by the Spaniards. In 1399 Don Enrique gave permission for an expedition, which with five vessels, was sent to Lanzarote, one of the islands. This expedition took captive the king and queen and one hundred and seventy of the inhabitants. These were sold for a cash consideration, thus introducing a new phase in the slavery question which led to the most wicked, dreadful and diabolical conditions, heretofore unknown to the world.

These beautiful islands, were in time, almost depopulated. The inhabitants were sold everywhere a market could be found. The business became so lucrative that every sea-faring man who could rig out a ship was ready to sail on an expedition for the search for other islands, until nearly all these beautiful islands of the Canary group were discovered.

The history of the discovery and depopulation of these islands shows a condition more wicked and thrilling than any ever written heretofore. Still, on

the subjugation of Cuba and other islands of the Indies, the story is doubly horrible and revolting. We have given only enough here to show the reader how and where and when the horrible institution of slavery, which came near destroying our own government, started. But someone will say that the Jews, Romans, Greeks and nearly all the nations allowed slavery. True, but as slaves were not held on a monetary value basis, there was no real traffic in slavery. The victor in a conquest was allowed to own his captives, but the slaves were, as a general custom used more as servants. But from the dispeopling of the Canary Islands, slavery was a business, as much so as that of traffic in cattle, and generally handled in much the same way. In our own time, three hundred years later, the negroes from Africa were captured and brought to our colonies by the ship load, and sold to the highest bidder, the same as any beast of burden.

The capture of the inhabitants for slavery of lands discovered was the incentive for discovery, at the time of Prince Henry of Portugal, when he purchased these islands from the various claimants. We must concede that Prince Henry had another object in view, than dealing in slaves. We might easily consider that he was growing in importance in the family of nations, and had become ambitious to do something which would increase his fame as a discoverer of lands not heretofore known to the world. The king of Portugal now began to be a rival of Spain in maritime leadership. As his importance grew, his power and vision also grew. He had been with his father at the battle of Ceuta, that ancient emporium and stronghold of

Spain, one of the most beautiful, as well as most important cities of the world. Here the Portugese gained a firm footing in Africa. The prince was greatly elated over his father's signal victory. No doubt he felt that Portugal would far outdistance Spain in the struggle for notoriety.

The Prince had been given every opportunity of the times for acquiring knowledge. He well understood the geographical situation as shown by the best geographers of the day. He was anxious to learn something more than that which the mapmakers knew. After investigating every thing he could find in the books and maps, and consulting the most experienced investigators, he was eager to send out an expedition further than any ship had been known to go. As Portugal was growing in importance and power, the Prince was looking out for trade as well as glory, and longing also to spread the blessings of his Catholic faith. Few men of those times were able to purchase or build ships that would withstand the roughest seas for long and hard expeditions, especially without the prospects of profits and there was the probability of loss and bankruptcy even if they should be able to return. The Prince could see herein a possible opportunity to become famous. While he said nothing about his thoughts along this line, for his chroniclers, yet we must opine that he was giving his ambition ample room for expansion.

Here the reader should have a map of the world before him, or what is better, a globe, for otherwise he may become confused. By looking on the map or globe you will see Cape Not, or Cape Naum, as it is on

some maps, not one sixth of the distance from Gibralter, down the west coastline of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope. No ship had ever been known to have sailed much beyond Cape Not. A familiar proverb in vogue among the old mariners was "He who would pass Cape Not, either will return or he will not."

Just why the sailors had such a horror about going down the African coast beyond a certain point seems not to have been explained. However it took more than one hundred years after the discovery of the Canary Islands before Bartholomew Diaz, or any other sailor performed this feat of rounding the southern extremity of Africa, which was later accomplished in one of the expeditions fitted out by the order of Prince Henry. It seems that discovery was the one crowning desire in this era of adventure, and was just the thing that Henry had on his mind when he made the determination to do something spectacular. One of the great mysteries to the writer, is why during the ages of seafaring along the northern coast of Africa, that no sailor had ever possessed the desire to find out the extent of land to the south. Both shores of Africa, up at the north, had been visited by ships for probably two thousand years and over. But Bartholomew Diaz did not go far up on the east side but turned his ship back and retraced his course. There is a question as to whether this discovery was made after or before the death of Prince Henry. Some historians put the date before and some after Henry's death.

From the time that Prince Henry became enthused with the idea of discovery, to the time of Diaz' discovery of the Cape of Good Hope must have been more

than fifty years. Although Henry sent from one to three ships each year, and each year they reported progress, something always happened to attract them in some other direction. No doubt they were afraid of some great sea monster that the natives told them of, to keep them away. A contemporary writer of the time of "Azurara" states that these captains were young men who after ending the Ceuta campaign, were as eager for employment as the Prince was for discovery, and that they were ordered on a voyage having for its object, the molestation of the Moors as well as making discoveries beyond Cape Not. This would make it appear that the Prince also had captive Moors for slaves. The Moors inhabited one of the Canary Islands.

An historical document was discovered in the Bibliotheque Imperiale of Paris by Ferdinand Demis in 1837, and was authenticated and published. (See Helps "Spanish Conquest of America" Vol 1, page 32.) This document was somewhat a disappointment to those historians of the times who had the faith that the Prince was principally interested in promoting discovery. One historian says, the ascertained confines of the world now, however, had more than doubled in the course of the century. And to Prince Henry of Portugal as the first promoter of these vast discoveries, our attention must be directed." The Prince, he says, had the well grounded idea in his mind that Africa did not end as it was commonly supposed, namely, at Cape Not, but that there was a world beyond that forbidding negative. He seems never to have rested until he had made known that quarter of the globe to his own people.

The Prince made his residence on the promontory of Sagus at the extreme southern end of Portugal, whence for many years he could observe the ships bringing back his captains. The Moors made war on him occasionally, and he had many other troubles which kept him from going out on his expeditions of discovery. Within three years after he was with his father at Ceuta, he was settled on the promontory. The story is told that he had a dream of promise. He arose early the next morning, ordered two vessels, put them under the command of two of his household, John Goncalvez and Tristan Vaz, whom he ordered to proceed down the Barbary coast on a voyage of discovery. The captains started out with flying colors, but before they reached Cape Not, fierce, adverse winds blew them far westward till they discovered, accidently, a small island, where they took refuge. From that circumstance they called the island Porto Santo. The people they found "were not altogether barbarous, but well settled in polity." The island showed many signs of fertility. Upon the return, although they had not penetrated beyond the Cape Not, still, they had found an island farther west than any one had heretofore sailed. In the language of President Roosevelt, the Prince was "Delighted" with the new discovery which brought him fame as a discoverer.

Prince Henry was so much encouraged that he sent the two captains plus a third one immediately "To discover more islands and to improve those already discovered." This third captain was the father-in-law of Christopher Columbus. His name was Perestrelo. On this second voyage, was sent some animals

and also some seeds for planting the land that they might raise vegetables. Along with the animals were some rabbits. For some reason, Perestrelo returned and the other captains saw a dark cloud which had a very peculiar appearance, so they made an investigation, and found another beautiful island abounding in many interesting products, but mostly trees. They named this island "Maderia." Those who read this book may locate this beautiful island, Maderia, from whence we get that lovely Maderia plant in which our ladies take so much pleasure, and prize so highly.

The Prince gave the island, Porto Santo, to Perestrelo to colonize, and to Goncalvez Zarco and Tristan Vaz, he gave Maderia. But misfortune overtook both islands. The rabbits multiplied to such numbers that they destroyed every plant on the island, Porto Santo, and although Perestrelo killed thousands of them, they entirely destroyed the commercial value of the place. Zarco and Vaz, while clearing land on Maderia set fire to some refuse and allowed it to get in the timber. Since they had no means for fighting the fire, it soon spread beyond their control and burned for seven years until the beautiful forest was completely destroyed. The captains had built churches which they now deserted. The King of Portugal gave the "Temporalities" to Prince Henry and the "Spiritualities" to the Knights of Christ.

While these things were going on in the islands, Prince Henry was sending expeditions down the coast of Africa beyond Cape Not and making other discoveries, but none had gone farther than about two hundred miles below Cape Not. From fear of round-

ing Cape Bojador, the captains reported that "there were no people at all, no fresh water, no trees, no grass on the land, also that the water in the sea was so shallow that a league from land it was only a fathom deep, and the current so fierce that the ship that would pass the cape could never return," thus they theorized to justify their fears.

On receiving these reports the Prince appeared to be quite dejected. The people who had been watching these expeditions, voiced their impatience at such extravagance in chasing the "will 'o the wisp." They called the attention of the Prince to the fact that the crowned heads had, from time immemorial refused to waste their time and money in such a trivial way. They begged him to desist from any further efforts at discovery. For years "he had been spending his substance to find lands that were worthless, black and barren, of no value to any one, or for any purpose whatsoever."

But the Prince was inexorable. He felt that the matter of the expedition had been falsely represented to him. There must be an end to Africa somewhere, and he would find it. He resolved to try once more, notwithstanding what his subjects thought or said about the matter. He determined to send Gil Ennes, one of his household who had been sent the year before, but had returned as the others, empty handed. The Prince had been very much displeased with Gil's former report and Gil Ennes was anxious to redeem himself in the Prince's favor, if possible. He was now entrusted with full command, and he resolved, at all hazards to please the Prince. Listen for a moment while the Prince blesses Gil:

"You cannot meet with such peril that the hope of reward will not be much greater, and in truth, I wonder what imagination this is that you have all taken up in a matter, too, of so little certainty; for if these things which are reported had any authority, however little, I would not blame you so much. But you quote to me the opinions of four mariners who as they were driven out of their way to Frandes or to some other ports to which they commonly navigated, had not and could not have used the needle and the chart, but do you go, however, and make your voyage without regard to their good, you will not bring out anything but honors and profit."

These stirring words resolved Gil Ennes to allow nothing in the way of effort or opinion from any source to prevent him from succeeding. No doubt he determined to please Prince Henry or die in the attempt. Gil Ennes was the first man to take a ship beyond Cape Bojador, a great event in the history of African discovery. The historian says "it was equal to the labor of Hercules." Ennes returned and again the Prince was "delighted," as much as he was on the discovery of Porto Santo by Vaz and Zarco. To assure him of the truth of the discovery, Ennes brought back a barrel of the rich soil with growing plants.

It is plain to the reader, I think, that Prince Henry was motivated, possibly as much from religious zeal as from the wish and hope of keeping his country foremost in power and maritime discovery. In all these exploits, the advancement of the church was one of the main incentives, if not the principal one, although many times when reading the history of the conquests,

religion appears to have been only a hollow pretense.

After the passing of the Cape Bojador, the people hushed as the clamor ceased. The crowd can always be depended upon while success is plainly showing, but when failure is portending, then the "would-be-wise" say "I told you so." Thus it can be seen that human nature is much the same throughout the ages. Possibly the Prince thought best to cease the attempts at exploration while his credit was good. He had won what had been a failure by others for generations, and would it not be best to let some other finish his work. Thus he reasoned. But some of the historians insist that other matters just as important were calling for his best attention. The reader will remember that the ardor of youth had worn off and that exurberance, which nothing but experience or age can quell, had somewhat diminished or been satisfied.

The bugaboo (Cape Bojador) had no more terror for the sailors. The mariner could now slip down past the once terrible cape as easily as once they could to the Canaries. Still it was some time before a navigator would risk his ship far below. However, in the year 1441, there was a very important voyage made. One Antonio Goncalves was sent out, so the historians say, to obtain the skins of sea-wolves. This expedition was expected to go a long way below Bojador, as it had been reported that sea-wolves had been seen during a voyage at the mouth of a river fifty-four leagues below Bojador. Antonio Goncalves, the captain, it appears, was somewhat skeptical of the story, as he knew of no ship ever having sailed so far south, and he concluded that he could voyage in another

direction to better profit and please the Prince equally, if not better, so he sailed out to the home of the Moors on one of the Canary Islands. He told his companions that if they would capture a goodly number of the white Moors, they could sell them at a good price as slaves. This would signalize his venture far more than the doubtful chance of getting a load of sea-wolf skins, and it would require much less time and expense, even if they should not meet with success. Goncalves knew that the Prince, notwithstanding his religious zeal, prayed equally and ardently for the consideration of a full treasury.

The captain successfully laid his plans and succeeded in capturing a goodly number of the people, but before returning, he fell in with Tristian, another of the Prince's captains, and in company with him sailed back, and between them a lot more of the innocent, ignorant white Moors were captured. They returned to Portugal with the rich spoils, and these poor people were sold into slavery. It is probable that there were instances before, when Negroes had been sold into slavery, but this instance put the traffic on a permanent financial basis for more than four hundred years.

The Prince took his profits out of this transaction, and immediately gained his old enthusiasm for exploring expeditions. He eased his conscience and smothered his cupidity and avarice by the propsect of converting the slaves to Christianity, and thereby saving their souls. He argued that conversion would be ample justification for the act of capturing and enslaving the natives of the heathenish islands. Another vile deception was that baptism was all that was necessary,

though it be forced, to change the heathen or any one else, from the road to hell to that of heaven. In later times, while the Spaniards were conquering the West Indies, they always baptized their captives, although the poor creatures could not understand one word spoken to them. It mattered not if the capture necessitated the killing of more than were captured, still the victors gloried in the thought that they were cheating the Devil by insuring his subjects to a glorious transport to eternal bliss. As for those they killed, they would have gone to perdition anyway. After capture, should any one or more be condemned to death, the victim was baptized before execution, that Heaven might have the benefit of religious zeal. Thus many a poor Indian was cleansed (?), then led to the slaughter.

Prince Henry certainly did not visualize the result of the adoption of his enunciation of this doctrine among the slave hunters over the face of the earth yet to be discovered, for the Prince was at this time held to be a just, kind, generous and true man. Those who claim that the world is getting worse should read history for more than entertainment. It is not possible that the doctrine of Prince Henry could be reconciled with truth, justice or generosity among any civilized people of today, whether religious or not. The Prince was so enthused by the prospects for evangelizing the heathen through slavery, and incidently filling his treasury, that he immediately set to fitting out more expeditions for discovery farther down the coast of Africa. On the doctrine of the universality of ownership of the whole world by the successor or viceregent of Christ, Prince Henry, this same year "applied to

Pope Martin the Fifth, praying that his Highness would grant to the Portugese Crown, all from Cape Bojador to the Indies." Since India lies on the east of Africa, it is plainly seen that the Prince had taken the view of his ownership of all South Africa through the discovery of the extension to the south. Henry also prayed for plenary indulgence for those who should die while engaged in such conquest. These prayers were granted by the Pope, thus making him responsible for the conduct of the Prince, and practically a silent partner in the nefarious conduct of capturing and enslaving harmless people for Christ's sake, and his own financial gain.

In the year 1442, the white Moors still mouning over the capture of their people by Goncalves, before mentioned, offered to trade black men for their people enslaved in Portugal. This offer was accepted and approved by Henry. Goncalves was entrusted to carry out the bargain and to get as many blacks as possible for each Moor, but if he could not get as many as required, to make the trade anyway, as but few Moorish slaves had accepted baptism or been converted to Christianity, and he would be saving souls, as he thought the blacks would more readily yield to the teachings of the church. So the white heathen turned robbers and abductors in order to get their own back, although they had to give five blacks for one of their own. This feature probably had more influence in closing the exchange than the hopes of conversion, thus business was business casting a shade over religion. Goncalves was not able to get as many blacks as he expected, the Moors being only partially successful in securing them. However,

all the Moors were left, by being paid for in gold, buffalo hides and ostrich eggs.

When other nations heard of this traffic in slaves, they were also eager to take a hand in the business, as they were jealous of Portugal. It was not long until ships began to speckle the western coast of Africa. They began to push their prows further south. So lucrative was the slave traffic that the fear of sea-monsters was well-nigh forgotten. These marauders did not confine their traffic to the blacks; they embraced their opportunity along the shore irrespective of the color line. Henry did not make any move to check this awful business, but rather encouraged it by sending out expedition after expedition, and even accompanied one himself. Still, the historians of the time claim that mostly all this rush was in the interest of science and discovery, and particularly in the interest of their holy religion. Looking back from this century—1929—nearly five hundred years later, these claims appear to have been mere hypocritial pretense.

Azurara, a contemporary historian was shocked at the proceedings and was conscious stricken as he wrote the following prayer: "O thou Heavenly Father, who with thy powerful hand, without movement of thy divine essence governnest all the infinite worlds divided into nine spheres, moving the times of their long and short periods as it pleases thee! I implore thee that my tears may condemn my conscience, for not its law, but for our common humanity constrains my humanity to lament piteously with the sufferings of these people, slaves. If the brute animals with their bestial sentiments, by natural instinct recognize the misfortunes of

their like, what must my human nature do, seeing thus before my eyes, this wretched company, remembering that I, myself, am of the generation of Adam! The other day which was the eighth day of August, very early in the morning, by the lack of heat, the mariners began to bring to their vessels, and as they had been commanded, to draw forth these captives to take them out to the vessels, whom placed together on that plane, was a marvelous sight to behold. For among them were some of a reasonable degree of whiteness, handsome and well made, others less white resembling leopards in their color, others as black as Ethiopians and so illformed as well in their faces as in their bodies, that they seemed to the beholder, the forms of a lower hemisphere. But who was that, how hard soever was not pierced with sorrow, seeing that company, for some had sunken cheeks and their faces bathed in tears looking at each other; others were groaning very dolefully, looking at the heights of the heavens, fixing their eyes upon them, crying out loudly as if they were pleading for succor from the father of nature; others struck their faces with their hands, throwing themselves on the earth; others made lamentations in songs according to the customs of their country, which although we could not understand their language, we saw corresponded well to the height of their sorrow. But now for the increase of their grief, those come who had the distribution, and they began to put them apart from one another, in order to equalize the partition. Wherefore it was necessary to part children and parents, husband and wife and brethern from each other. Neither in the partition of friends and relatives was any

law kept, only each fell where the lot took him. O powerful fortune! who goeth thither and whither with thy wheels, compassing the things of the world as pleaseth thee, if thou canst place before the eyes of this miserable nation some knowledge of the things which are to come after them, that they may receive some consolation in the midst of their great sadness! and you others who have the business of this partition, look with pity on such great misery and sadness. How can these be parted, whom you cannot disunite? Who were able to make this partition without great difficulty? For while they were placing in one part the children that I saw their parents in another, the children sprang up perseveringly and fled to the other. Mothers enclosed their children in their arms and threw themselves on the ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own flesh, so that their offspring might not be torn from them. And so with labor and difficulty they crowded the partition, for, beside the trouble they had with the captives, the place was full of people as well of the place as of the villages and the neighborhood around, who in that way gave rest to their hands in the mainstay of their livelihood, only to see this novelty. And as they looked upon these things, some deploring, some reasoning upon them, they made such riotous noises to disturb these who had the management of the distribution. The Infanti (Prince) was there on a powerful horse, accompanied by his people, looking out for his share, but as a man who for his part did not care for gain, (?) but for the forty-six souls which fell to his share, he speedily made his choice, as if all his principle riches

were in his contentment, considering with great delight the salvation of these souls which before were lost. And certainly his thought was not in vain, for as soon as they had knowledge of our language, they readily became Christians. And I who have made this history in this volume have here seen, in the Town of Lagos, young men and young women, their sons and grandsons of these very capitves, born in this land, as good and as true Christians as if they had lineally descended since the commandment of the law of Christ, from those who were first baptized."

The historian, Arthur Helps, from whom we have taken the above, says, "The good Azurara wishes that these captives might have some foresight of the things to happen after death. I do not think however, that it would have proven much consolation to them to have forseen that they were almost the first of millions to be dealt with as they have been; for in this year, 1444, Europe may be said to have a distinct beginning in the slave trade, henceforth 'to spread on all sides like waves upon stirred water, and not, like them to become fainter and fainter as the circle widened'."

We have made these long and tedious quotations that we may learn the style of language used by the historians of that age, and how they labored to satisfy God and their own consciences for this hellish work, and, also, to show what gave rise to that insatiable desire to make discoveries. The religious phase, the avaricious phase and the covetous phase, to the mind of this writer, far exceeded the desire to simply make discovery for the advancement of science. We can see how the historians were under the surveilance of the clerigo,

and could not always write their real sentiments. In other words, they were handicapped to a certain extent. They would have liked to give their sovereigns the truthful settings, but did not through fear of losing cast at court. But the defense is too weak to mislead any one not in sympathy with the powers of darkness. The fact seems to be established that Henry was on hand to get, and did get his fifth, which is all the evidence a sane man needs to fix Henry's character. "Actions speak louder than words." One word from the Prince would have torn the fetters from every captive and sent them all to their native lands. I have said it before, but the truth can be repeated, that avarice for land, slaves and gold was the prime incentive for the abuse, murder and otherwise destruction of more than fifty millions of natives under various pretenses, from Prince Henry of Portugal, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, to the abolition of slavery in the United States, saying nothing of the loss of life in efforts to break up the vile institution.

People build monuments today to the greatest murderers the earth has known. It is impossible to portray the history of these murders and murderers in one book or in a hundred books.

I do not wish to weary the reader with following Columbus through the conquest of Cuba, at this time, but we are now getting along to about the time of the birth of Columbus, who as a boy was a close observer of what took place on the waters, as he became acquainted with and was in the company of seafaring men. Also Balboa and Magellen will soon be observers, but we shall not introduce them until after the discovery

of the Cape of Good Hope at the southern extremity of Africa.

The expeditions or forays continued somewhat irregularly, but when some ship arrived home with several hundred captives, other nations were stimulated to try the experiment, and to increase the number of their ships. Many African tribes had slaves which they had captured in war with other tribes, and it came to pass that the Portugese and others worked up quite a trade for these captives. Finally horses from the Barbary coast were taken to Africa for exchange for Negroes, the exchange rate being one horse for ten men. The King of Portugal at one time seemed to get a real feeling of remorse in his heart and decreed that no more slaves should be purchased. Some of the captains disobeyed this order, whereupon the King returned the captives to their country after clothing them properly. Later the King farmed out the coast of Africa to one Fernando Gomez for five years, stipulating that the coast must be explored three hundred miles each five years. He was again becoming interested in discovery expeditions.

It was during this time that Bartholomew Dias reached the extreme limit of Africa. Owing to the very bad weather he experienced, Dias named the cape, "Stormy Cape," but the King looked upon the achievement as a harbinger of better things ahead, so he named the promontory "Cape of Good Hope." There was on this voyage a Bartholomew Columbus, a brother of Christopher. Although Christopher was some younger than his brother, still the reader can judge how that world-famed circumstance might have

elated the Columbus family, and especially, as the historians have struggled to (partially successfully) prove that young Christopher was with his brother on that notable, world-famed voyage. Nothing in the history of nautical exploits had ever created such wild enthusiasm as this feat of the skipper, Bartholomew Dias. The historian Lascasas says that he found a book belonging to Christopher Columbus which gives a short account of the voyage, which mentions the latitude of the cape, and concludes with some words in bad Latin, which interpreted indicates that he was with Dias on that occasion, of the greatest discovery of the century.

It is the opinion of the men who think and reason that none of the great discoveries were made by accident. And further let us say that up to the middle of the fifteenth century, the mariners were careful and hesitating that they might not get lost or run into some great sea-monster that could destroy a ship at one stroke.

It appears that Columbus was not only the first captain, but the only one up to his time, who had ever sailed so far beyond the charted seas. He went far beyond the knowledge of the geographers and discovered a continent. True, Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope, sailing one thousand miles beyond any previous explorations, but remember that he was all the time creeping along the shore of Africa, and continually in sight of land, barring fogs, and in no danger whatever of getting lost. The world did not applaud so much, the discoverer as it did the discovery.

The reader, no doubt, by this time has sized up the

men who advanced geographical knowledge, especially on the seas. Up to the beginning of the thirteenth century nothing like one half of the earth's surface was known to civilized men. Knowledge was probably "running to and fro" but finding few takers. Seamen were afraid to sail much beyond the sight of land. Woodsmen feared to penetrate far from the habitations already settled. Up in the north where ships can scarcely get far enough from land to meet failure in returning, the Ericsons, Karlsefine, Helge and Finnaborge and Marco Polo had learned much about the country. But all seemed to have an uncontrollable fear for the open seas to the south. But as the learned geographers began to agitate the question of the rotundity of the earth's surface, seafaring men began to really wonder if it were possible that a ship might sail around the earth. One bold spirit was willing to try the experiment, But the fifteenth century had almost slipped away before an attempt was made to test the matter, and the quarter of another century had almost slipped away before the physical proof was forthcoming. The next chapters will attempt to show how the expeditions of discovery finally got under motion; the characters of the men who carried them on; the national interests involved and their trend toward the northwest, and the consummation of the objects sought in that great era of discovery.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in Genoa, a great maritime city, about 1447 or 1448, there being some doubt as to the year, and so a great controversy has grown up which has not cleared, and probably will never be settled. However, the only gain would be to find his age when he left school for a seafaring life, and the probability of his being with Diaz at the time of the discovery of the cape at the southern extremity of Africa. We will take it for granted that he was on that voyage, and took a boyish pride in assuming a share of the notoriety which that discovery attached to all on board that ship.

The Columbus family was little known, and would probably never have been known had not the son become famous. The chroniclers of the time of the discovery began to look up the family history of Columbus, but found it a very difficult task. They found that the father was a weaver and that his boys had also learned to weave. Christopher was sent to school but a short time. Some have contended that he was sent away to college for a short while and improved very rapidly, but he could not have been in college long, for we find that he ran off and went on a voyage at the age of fourteen. When he left the school at Pavia, it is said, that he wrote a good hand, was a good designer and a good scholar in Latin. But the historian Lascasas is the one who found the old book among some effects belonging to Christopher, and in

his handwriting, a report of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and Lascasas incidently mentions that the report was written in "bad Latin." From this we may dismiss the matter by observing that Christopher no doubt was a very good student whether in or out of school.

There is a mention of his name as weaver as late as his twenty-fifth year, but from that on, the sea was his attraction. No doubt Christopher was an eager student, as all who knew him after he became a confirmed sailor testify that he was one of the best learned navigators on the high seas. He claimed for himself that he had sailed on every known sea and was familiar with everything published in regard to the geography of the earth. He knew all the arguments for and against the rotundity of the earth. There was nothing absolutely new about this idea. Ever since the days of the learned Greeks, a few scientific persons had held to this belief. It is intimated that, from his first voyage, Columbus became very much interested in the matter of discoveries. He was anxious to learn what was beyond where any one had ever gone.

To our mind, ideas are of quite slow growth. They are found well up the ladder, the climbing of the steps being a slow process and fraught with much hard labor, finally culminating and flaring out as though they were a product of the moment. The great vision of our own Thomas Jefferson was, really, forced upon him by the action of Adams, Livingston and John Ledyard. Our own idea is that the discovery of the great African Cape of Good Hope and the possibility of reaching India by an all-water route, produced or helped to

produce, the great desire to prove to the world that the earth really was a globe, and that India could be reached by sailing west as well as east.

The history of Columbus' persistence is almost tragic. We will take the story from the most excellent work of Arthur Helps, combined with that of William Johnson:

There was every reason that Columbus should deliberately go to Portugal. It was at that time the most attractive place in the world to an active sea-faring man. Besides its commercial activity, it was the pioneer in exploration. Columbus' residence was there, where all the principal ships of the world came in, stimulating his thirst for achievement. On his ardent and imaginative nature it must have acted like fire applied to fuel, to see the expeditions returning from foreign discovery and to witness, as he did, the triumphant homecoming of Diaz after his exploit. He went into the business of mapmaking in his home. It must have been annoying for any person to try to map where there was nothing to map, but imagination and supposition. His marriage to the daughter of Perestrello, one of Prince Henry's noted captains, was another link in the chain of his destiny. After the death of his father-in-law, Columbus fell heir to all the maps and charts and memoranda of the voyages of Perestrello. Still another link was his removal to Porto Santo, a small island "Maderia," heretofore mentioned as discovered by Zarco and Vaz, the first of Prince Henry's discoveries, where Perestrello had once been governor and where the daughter had inherited a small property.

Porto Santo lay in the very track of vessels sailing to and from Guinea, and Columbus often talked with men who had reached fame and fortune by the road of foreign adventure. No doubt it was at this time that he made a voyage to Guinea. We know that his mind was very early occupied with the great project of his life, for we find him writing to Toscanelli, a learned doctor of Florence, as to the possibility of reaching eastern Asia by sailing across the western ocean. The great scholar's reply assured him confidently of its feasibility and was accompanied by a map intended to illustrate or demonstrate it. The map was lost, but we are informed from other sources as to what it was like. Columbus was greatly encouraged from so high a quarter. This was eighteen anxious years before he was prepared to put his reasoning to test.

'Tis a melancholly picture we have now to draw. Columbus made his first appeal to his own countrymen, the Genoese, but they scarcely listened to his words, much less to the consideration of their import. This appeal to his own countrymen was induced by loyalty, but when he could not interest the Genoese, he turned to Lisbon with no better results. The Portugese really listened to the arguments with more interest than they would allow. Really they wished to fit out an expedition according to the plans and for the purposes to which they had been listening, but they wanted the glory attending the success of such a venture, so they pretended to disapprove his proposition. But secretly, these wily Portugese fitted out and actually undertook to double-cross Columbus. But the expedition came

to naught, as might be expected. The sailors were afraid to advance on uncharted waters, especially with sceptical officers, so they turned back without faith in such a venture and proclaimed Columbus a visionary enthusiast.

Altogether Columbus spent eighteen years in traveling, much of this time from one country to another, soliciting the crowned heads of Europe for assistance. Tired, weary and worn out, he applied to Fedinand and Isabella of Spain, after placing his son in the care of the monk La Rubido, and made his way to the court then at Cordova. There Columbus found a "friend in the treasurer of the household, Alonzo de Quantilla" a man, who like himself took a delight in great things, and who obtained a hearing for him from the Spanish monarchs.

These monarchs received Columbus very kindly, but as they were in a war with the Moors, declined to give the matter the attention necessary to form a conclusion, at the time. However, they did not reject his proposition entirely, but referred Columbus to the Queen's confessor, Fray Hernando Talavera, who summoned a junta of cosmographers to consult about the matter. This company did not discuss the matter on its merits, but concluded "that so many persons wise in nautical matters had preceded Columbus, they never could have overlooked such an idea as that which had presented itself to his mind; then they for themselves thought that if the earth be round it would be impossible for a ship to sail up hill after once sailing over the crown."

Ferdinand and Isabella did not attach much impor-

tance to the junta's report, but excused themselves to give the matter further consideration until they were through with the wars on hand and their finances had recovered from the severe strain brought on by the war. But when the stress was over they would look into the plans further. Therefore Columbus was put into a state of suspense which lasted, so historians would have us believe, for as much as five years. How Columbus maintained himself during these five long years is not to be found out by this writer. However, we find that he lived for two years in the house of the Duke of Medina, and was maintained by the Duke, who later said that he would have financed the captain, but he held that the matter should be sponsored by the king and queen.

We will not drag the reader through the details of financing the expedition. We have said enough for our purpose of showing the will power and persistence, the faith, earnestness and hopefulness of this great man. The agreement between the crown and Columbus was signed on April 17, 1492. There was no delay in getting the ships equipped and ready for the start. The old story of the Queen pledging her jewels for a loan to raise money for the furnishing and equipping appears to be without foundation. It appears to be a nice, pleasant piece of romance which has been told to all the children of the western world.

On the demand of Columbus, the Queen was finally persuaded to make him an admiral. This the Queen did not wish to do, but Columbus positively refused to take charge unless he was vested with that title. The Spanish nobles revolted at these demands from an

indigent stranger, and indignantly refused. Columbus would not consent to abate them one particle and actually mounted his mule and "rode away, quitting Spain, as he thought, forever. When he had traveled some miles, a royal messenger, riding furiously, overtook him and bade him come back to court; his terms would be accepted." The first great victory was won. There is nothing else that shows more determination and positiveness in his whole history. For eighteen years he had lived the life of a mendicant, going from one country to another begging for help, and now he would throw this all away or have the dignity that he thought he sustained. Some may call this stubbornness, but that is not the word under these conditions that does justice to this occasion. Without this dogged persistence, he would not have reached America.

All being now ready, the three ships, Santa Maria, the Pinta and the Nina with eighty-eight men all told, were now ready to start on the great tour into the cloud of darkness in the unknown west. It was on the third of August, 1492, the anchors were weighed, the ropes were cast off, the ships pushed from the docks and the expedition was off for the solution of the greatly disputed problem: Does the world really move? Can a ship sail to India either east or west?

While we are waiting to hear from the expedition just now starting on a long sail to the unknown, let us consider what might have been known in ages past about a western land.

There is no doubt but that white people had visited the American shore. It is barely possible that the Icelanders had some legendary history of an attempt

to occupy the country at some remote time. In numerous places in the northeastern United States many remains of buildings have been found and a few complete buildings have also been discovered, all of which are true evidence that as the architecture is distinctly European, people from the European continent had at some period in the past visited and attempted to colonize parts of the country.

Let us read an article to be found in Scribner's magazine 1928, Vol. 1, page 37: "It is indeed, nearly certain that hardy Basque, Briton and Northmen fishermen, adventuring first north, then west, had sighted Greenland and Labrador, and had become well acquainted with the rich grounds about Newfoundland and the St. Lawrence Gulf. Many of the early charts of these regions, without dates and hitherto referred to Portugese navigators of the time so late as 1500, are now thought to be the work of these early voyagers. They found the new world, but thought it a part of the old world. There are in existence manuscripts from the fourteenth century which Columbus might have seen. Lief Ericson sailed in the years 1000 and 1001, to Helluland, Markland and Vineland, and later Thorwald Ericson, in 1002, Thorfin Kerlsefine in 1007 to 1009, and Heldge and Finnaborge in 1011. All sailed to points still father away. Helluland is now Newfoundland, and Maryland Nova Scotia, while Vineland is thought to be Mount Hope Bay in Rhode Island. There can be no doubt that all these places are on our northeast coast. It is not likely that they were prepossessed with the land they visited. The old stone mill found at what is Newport, R. I., stands as

mute evidence of a one time settlement by Europeans. In 1260, more than 200 years before Columbus made the voyage of discovery, the brothers Niccula and Maffo Polo made their way to China, being the first men from western Europe ever to travel so far. They returned in 1269, but in 1271 they set out again, accompanied by Niccula's son, a youth of seventeen. This son became the famous Marco Polo, whose name is familiar to every studious school boy or girl. His wonderful book, 'Wonders of the World,' is an outstanding work in the galaxy of histories. There are others who wrote on this interesting subject. Oderic and Mandeville wrote similarly in 1371. Columbus had access to these writings, or knew of them, without doubt. By the reading of Marco Polo's work, he learned of the course he had taken, evidently through Behring's Strait, then west and south to China. From this book he also learned of the great Magi and the 'faraway Cathey,' with wonderfully gorgeous cities, much finer than he had seen in all his travels; wonderful gold mines, great rivers, palaces of marble, roofs made of gold all guarded by ten thousand soldiers; and stables containing five thousand elephants. These were in the city of Camblu, presided over by the great Kan, Kublai, (Kublai Kan). Columbus took this to heart. Nothing before had so fired his blood. He really became desperately in earnest to prove to the world that the earth was round or must have an end somewhere, and he would learn the exact truth or perish in the effort."

He would find India by a more southerly route than the one sailed by Marco Polo. His faith was that by

sailing west far enough, he would reach a point in the east on the same latitude on which he started in the west, and by going on a more southerly latitude he would experience a much warmer temperature. Columbus very wisely chose a warmer climate in which to test the accuracy of his conclusions. As we have said before, sailors were very chary of going far beyond where others had been, and when Columbus persistently kept pushing far into the unknown waters, they almost mutinied and decided to throw him overboard. By wonderful adroitness, he escaped the tragedy.

Columbus set sail with three vessels as we have said on August 3, 1492, and arrived at the island of San Salvador, October 12, 1492, having been seventy days on the voyage. Both he and his men were very greatly elated over their discovery, as they supposed, of the eastern extremity of India, so Columbus designated the inhabitants as Indians. So it has come that all the aborigines of the two continents are still known as Indians, while there are many differences among them, they are probably of a different origin. In fact there are as many varieties among them in build, features, color, styles, manners, language, habits and customs as may be found among the people of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Although the time was the middle of October, the verdure was as luxurious as May in the northern hemisphere in Europe. Columbus left San Salvador about the 28th of October, after going ashore and proclaiming the new found land as belonging to the sovereignty of the King and Queen of Spain. Had the natives, who peacefully listened to the elaborate ceremony

known what it all meant to them then, they would have assembled an army and destroyed the white strangers and looted the ships. And no doubt the Indians were a thousand times sorry that they had not done so.

After leaving San Salvador, Columbus sailed along the coast of Cuba, admiring the new varities of beautiful trees, birds, grasses and flowers innumerable, and not forgetting to watch the many natives who thronged the shore viewing the ships with an air of greatest curiosity. These friendly natives showed, so Columbus reported, a spirit of greatest friendliness, and no doubt would have continued to do so, had they met the friendly treatment from the Spaniards, which they deserved. When the ships came to anchor and the men debarked, the natives were overjoyed. They played musical instruments and sang their folk lore songs to the amusement and entertainment of the strangers.

The cupidity of the officers of the Pinta overcame their honesty and judgment to such an extent that they deserted Columbus and sailed south, thinking they might start a settlement independently of Columbus. After cruising around on a tour of admiration, Columbus had the misfortune to ground the Santa Maria, and now their troubles began, resulting in disaster to one half of their number. Columbus found himself on an Island which he named Hispanolia, meaning New Spain. He tried every device within his power, but it was impossible to get the Santa Maria off the ground as the sea was rough, with every prospect that she would go to pieces. The Indians assisted in getting the goods out of the ship and to the

shore. The ship was then taken apart and enough of the planks and timbers saved with which to build a fort for housing the goods and forty of the men, as the Nina, the only ship left would not carry nearly all the men back to Spain as she was the smallest of the three, and the Pinta had, as we said, deserted. When the fort was sufficiently prepared for the goods and provisioned for the men to inhabit until his return, Columbus set the sails of the Nina for the return trip to Spain to make his report to Ferdinand and Isabella of his great discovery of the most beautiful part of the world yet found in any country. He left the men at the fort with the promise that he would return with relief and recruits.

Columbus returned to Cuba in the fall of 1493, but could find no trace of the forty men, nor of Captain Audria. There was a tribe of Indians called Caribs (Cannibals) whom it was supposed had murdered the men and destroyed the fort. We have said before that it is not the writer's intention to give an authentic account of what happened or of all that took place, so much as to show the characters of the conquerors and the incentive which drove them ahead.

On the second voyage was a young man named Ojeda, of whom we will hear much as we proceed. "Ojeda was daring, devout and of great personal endurance and determination. He was an athlete as such men are designated today. In his younger days he performed a most wonderful feat for the entertainment of Queen Isabella by walking out swiftly on a plank from the top of the Giralda at Seville and back again. This was typical of what he could do. His

physical strength was immense. Placing himself at the bottom of the Giralda, he could throw an orange to the top, a distance of two hundred feet. A first cousin of his was one of the inquistors and a great favorite of Ferdinand and Isabella. He had been reared in the family of the Duke of Madena Celi. Columbus had visited the duke, which probably accounts for his acquaintance with Columbus. He was a most servicable man to Columbus. When he arrived at the place where the fort had been destroyed, on learning from the Indians that the destruction had been wrought, probably by the Caribs, a warlike tribe living in the mountains, and whose chief Canabo was a very large and powerful man who gloried in his prowess, Ojeda determined to capture this desperate man, and do it lone handed. It had also been told that this chief was a great bully in all the Indies. We now prefer to let Mr. Morris in his Historical Tales tell this story. It was evident, however, that Ojeda was perilously situated, surrounded as he was by enemies led by a bold and persistent cheif. In the face of this peril, he adopted an expedient as daring as any of those shown by Cortz, Pizaro, or any of the Spaniards of that age of conquest, and one the ingenuity of which equalled its daring. It is this striking adventure which we propose to describe:

"Choosing from his men a few of the bravest and most trusty, Ojeda set out on horseback over the mountains, following the paths never before traversed by the Spaniards, until they came to the Carib's town of Managua, where he found Canabo surrounded by a throng of armed warriors. The Spaniards were to

beard the lion in his den, and were in a position of extreme peril should the Chief prove hostile. But Ojeda was a pastmaster in craftiness, and by his profession of friendship and other arts of duplicity, he persuaded the Chief to accompany him alone into the forest. Ojeda now took from his pocket a pair of handcuffs, bright shining manacles of which the untutored Indian had no conception as to their use, but the brightness of which attracted him. Ojeda told him that they were bracelets which the King of Spain had graciously sent him as a present in recognition of his fame as a warrior of skill and courage. He was easily brought to view the manacles as "Turey" or a gift from heaven and willingly held out his wrists that his guest might adorn them with these strange and splendid bracelets. In a moment his hands were secured, and before he could recover from surprise, Ojeda, whose powerful frame concealed much strength, reached from his saddle and by a great exertion seized the astonished chief and by pure muscular force, lifted him from the ground and swung him on the horse. The warriors who beheld this act with surprise and suspicion had no time to use their weapons, for the Spaniards put spurs to their horses and dashed into the forest. Two of them rode, one on each side of Ojeda to prevent the captive from throwing himself from the horse. Threatened by their swords and with his hands clasped in those fatal bracelets, Canabo was forced to submit and was carried by his captors for many miles through the heart of his own country to Fort Isabella, a stronghold which Columbus had built up on a site on the sea coast, fronting a bay in which all vessels could ride in

safety. Here the bold Ojeda, as the culmination of his daring enterprise, delivered his royal captive to Columbus, who had him locked up in a secure cell."

As the story goes, the brave chief had a greater admiration for Ojeda for the crafty way that he was captured than for Columbus. He seemed to hold Ojeda in high esteem as the bravest of the Spaniards. This story is told somewhat differently by the historian Arthur Helps, but the main features are about the same. The story was current in Spain for years, and probably lost none of its salient features. Canabo was held in confinement until an opportunity was presented to send him to Spain. Finally he was put on board a ship in his chains, as Columbus was later. Either from a broken heart or from close confinement, which a son of the forest cannot endure long, Canabo died before the ship reached Spain. The story of Ojeda himself, is a very thrilling one and much more tragic, and will be told with that of Vasco Nuenez Balboa.

The reader should keep in mind that the Spaniards were, theoretically endeavoring to civilize and Christianize these Indians of the Islands who were mostly kindly, thoughtful and accommodating, until they learned that the Spaniards were there to rob and enslave them and to kill them if necessary to accomplish their purpose. For every ship returning to Spain was loaded with Indians to be sold into slavery, and all the gold that could be obtained by fair means or foul. The same tactics were employed as those used by Portugal on the African coast, and the treatment was not only duplicated in the Indies but multiplied a thousandfold.

Even Columbus himself advocated the capture of Indians for slavery. In discoursing on the necessity of building a fort, he writes to the soverign "I do not think that the fort will be necessary, for the people are very simple in the use of arms as your highness will see from the seven of those that I have taken in order to bring them to you to learn your language and afterwards to take them back so that when your highness commands, you can have them all taken to Castile or kept in the Islands as captives." Columbus was supposed to be a very pious man. He never did show the avariciousness of the average Spaniard, but it will be remembered that he became enured to the sight of many slaves taken from central Africa, and his whole life in the Indies never showed any compunctions of conscience in the matter. Possibly he would not commit the awful atrocities that many pretentious pious men were guilty of perpetrating. Columbus justified himself as others did: that all who were captured and baptized would go to Heaven at death, and therefore the capture for slavery was justifiable.

We have followed Columbus far enough that the reader has formed his judgment of the character of Columbus to his own satisfaction, no doubt, and we will only make a few plain remarks. Columbus was a great man in many respects. He was great in fertility of mind, inquisitive, determined, aggressive, ambitious, truthful, valiant, of wonderful endurance, active and alert.

CHAPTER IV

NICUESA, ENCISO, OJEDA

IT WILL be remembered that Ojeda, the athlete, who came from Spain with Columbus on his second voyage, was a great help to the Admiral in the capture of the great chief Canabo. But now he has made another voyage, this time with Amerigo ves Pucci who made quite a tour among the island discoveries of the Admiral, returned and wrote extensively of the discoveries in the new world. His book was generally circulated and by this means many thousands of readers heard for the first time of the new world. Amerigo's name became so closely associated with every mention of the new possessions that the whole continent was spoken of as "Amerigo's new country." This was easy at the time as Columbus had fallen from grace and had been sent home in chains by Bobodilla, by an order of his successor who had enlarged upon his instruction from Ferdinand and Isabella, to use his own judgment as to the necessity of superceding Columbus after examining into the charge or rather complaints that had reached the Spanish officials at the royal chambers. Columbus was exonerated, but not reinstated, nor did he regain his standing in that generation. Very few men who accomplish great things acquire fame during their own time. The really great must await general recognition until the little petty jealousies and personal dislikes have died and the achievements begin to bear fruitage. Then there was

another matter that carried weight against Columbus, which the close reader will notice was frequently thrown up to him—that he was a Spaniard only by adoption, and should not have the glory that belonged to Spain. Again the Spaniards under his authority were always more or less jealous of the foreigner.

But let us hear something more about the voyages of discovery, especially of those that led to the discovery of the main land of South America, or "terra firma" as the Spaniards termed the main land. "The voyages which for this purpose must be examined and recounted were for the most part disjointed undertakings, often fruitless and discreditable to those engaged in them, and very unsatisfactory and difficult to relate. But they led to great changes in the world. They give a picture of Spanish enterprise during that period, and show it spreading over the new world like water seeking its level; unhappily, however, not in force or quantity enough to form great navigable rivers or deep seas, but merely wide, stagnant, unhealthy marshes." So many of these smaller enterprises were eminently unsuccessful as regards the fortunes of the persons engaged in them, that we may wonder at first at the steady continuance of such undertakings. But who at that time could resist embarking in them? The truth is, life is tedious; we mock at gamesters, rightly, because the chances are often manifestly against them; but who except a few cold-blooded philosophers, does not wish to try his fortune in some adventurous way? Every one knows well the inconveniences of the state in which he lives, and where he has probably missed the respect and the love

which he hoped for, and he thinks that at least there will be something gained to have a change of evils.

Then the notions of the earth which were held at that time were so wild, so vague, so tempting. Copernicus had not as yet made known those beginnings of astronomical science which were to reduce even in popular imagination, the bounds of the world to their just significance. The earth was evidently and indefinitely large; there was an India for everybody to discover; the stars were concerned in the destiny of men, and wise and prudent persons partook somewhat of the mood of children when deep in the study of fairy tales, where courage and adventure always come to a good end.

Columbus made the first discovery of the mainland of America on his third voyage, in the year 1498, touching somewhere near the mouth of the Orinoco River, a long distance farther south than he had sailed on either of the other voyages. On learning of Columbus' further discoveries to the south, Alonzo Ojeda, with Amerigo ves Pucci on board, the very next year, 1499, accomplished very much the same voyage as Columbus had the year before, having profited by the report of his trip. Ojeda came with the purpose of starting a settlement for trade with the Indians. He went north to what is now Venezuela, and gave the name to the country on account of the landscape resembling that about the grand old city of Venice. The fartherest westward point of this voyage was to Cape de la Vela.

We find also that one Rodrego de Bastidas with Jaun de la Casa as pilot was successful. Just what is meant by the word "successful" in this connection we

do not know, but we have the word of the historian Las Casas, saying that Bastidas was a humane man toward the Indians, and we may presume that was a fact as his men mutinied and killed him. So it would appear that he lost his life for his humanity. Most likely Bastidas refused to allow his men to capture well disposed natives for slavery as the principal source of profit was in the nefarious traffic in slaves. The historian also says that "Bastidas as governor of Santa Maria refused to allow his men to harass the Indians, so his men mutinied and murdered him in his bed." As we go along we want to say for future notice that Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean was a member of this crew. We may mention this fact again later. There were several other voyages to South America near this time, but we wish to tell the stories of only three or four which possibly had an influence in some way in contributing to the discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

Especially these names will in time thrill the reader —Ojeda, Nicuesa, Enciso, Balboa and Pedrariras. These men were men of action and brought results, but through their misdeeds and struggles for unrighteous mammon, sacrificed their lives on the alter of shame and ignominy. The reader will remember that Ojeda was the powerful man who hand-cuffed the cannibal chief. Ojeda was said to have been a devout common soldier with but little generalship for managing other men. He was a sort of a favorite among the sports, for his faculty of entertainment. Nicuesa was of a very different temperment, of good birth, a good speaker, good musician, went to Hispanolia, acquired

wealth, was deputed at one time to go to Spain and solicit that their Indians which were allowed each colony for a short time, be allowed them permanently or for the period of a life time, that they might so far be independent of the caprice of the governors for the time being. He gained this accession which was considered quite important to the colonists in the apportionment. He also procured for himself the government of Veragua in the Indies.

On the fourth voyage Columbus had discovered this island, and young Columbus was very much offended that the crown should grant it to Nicuesa. Ojeda had at the same time obtained the government of the adjoining province of Uraba. Nicuesa was rich and Ojeda was poor. The previous voyage had not been profitable. Ojeda had been aided in his present expedition by a noted lawyer named Fernando Enciso and a pilot named Jaun de la Casa. Ojeda immediately appointed Enciso alcalda (mayor) in his province which received the name of "Nueva Andelucia."

Nicuesa, although a rich man, had gone heavily in debt in building up a large fleet. Both of the commanders arrived at San Domingo, which was to be their starting point, at the same time. Since the lines of their provinces had not been well defined, as was natural, they soon began to quarrel about the limits of their respective claims. Finally the friend of both, Jaun de la Casa, persuaded the two governors to accept the river Darien as the boundary. Uraba, the province of which Ojeda was to be governor, should lie eastward of the river, and Nicuesa's west of the river. This was well understood, Uraba to the east,

Veragua to the west. The name "Uraba was later changed to Castilla del Oro, to memorialize the flattering account that Columbus gave of the land at the time of its discovery on his third voyage to America.

The reader should remember that we are now in a country bordering on the isthmus of Darien. It is said by a lieutenant of Nicuesa, that the agreement between Ojeda and Nicuesa was not ratified by the authorities, nor sanctioned at San Domingo by Columbus. The two governors were not allowed the quota of men and Indians previoulsy promised. They were each to have four hundred men and Indians for four years, until they could get the provinces well built up and stocked. These two provinces had great possibilities and should soon not only be self sustaining, but revenue producers. They were to have Jamaica ceded to them as a source of supply while they were getting under way. This was also denied them. The prospects of these men, Nicuesa and Ojeda were now not so "rosa" as they were at the outset; too much divided authority. Columbus, the Admiral as they now called him was not absolute authority over all these discoveries and many disputed questions had to be referred to the authorities in Spain, causing tedious delays which led to much quarreling and bickering. However Ojeda got started from Darien about the middle of November, 1509, with two ships, two brigantines, three hundred men and a few mares for breeding. Horses and dogs were necessary adjuncts in war. With horses, the cavalry could dash through the Indian squads, knocking them right and left, and the dogs, large, fierce and strong could terrorize the Indians and draw their attention from the soldiers.

We will recite a curious incident which occured on one of the islands toward the north, "where a number of the Spaniards had landed in search of food. They found the Indians friendly when asked for food, the chief immediately ordering meals prepared for the men. While preparations were being hurried, the old chief moved rapidly among the workers. His movements attracted the attention of a large war dog which one of the Spaniards was holding. A bystander in order to see the antics of the dog which was surging against his leash, said to the dog 'At him!' No sooner had the words been said, than the dog broke his leash and made his teeth fast in the chief's throat, and before his hold could be broken, the chief was dead." The reader can readily see by this example what fifty or one hundred such dogs could do with a band of Indians when attacked by the infantry or cavalry. Every army, when on a foray in this new country was always accompanied with these terrible brutes.

Nicuesa's departure was delayed on account of his debts, as the Admiral did not like Nicuesa and threw obstacles in his way. The chronicler on whom we depend, Las Casas, was with this expedition and from him we learn that "after the ships were ready to sail and the men well aboard, Nicuesa was arrested and taken out of his boat for debt. A friendly notary came to his rescue and sponsored the debt." What a blessing it would have been could Nicuesa only have been prevented from making the start. But we cannot peer into the future, and if we could, who can tell that fate would treat us more kndly, or that our final end would be more satisfactory?

These delays put Nicuesa about two weeks behind Ojeda. Nicuesa's fleet consisted of two good ships, one caravel and two brigantines. He was companioned with six hundred and fifty men.

In less than two weeks he reached Carthagena, where he stopped to hunt for Indians. The instructions always given out to these governors was that they should make Christians of the Indians, and the excuse set up by the governors was that they could not make Christians of them until they were caught by some means, and that war was the most expedient and economical way to accomplish the "divine purpose." Ojeda feeling that he had so much the start of Nicuesa, concluded to stop and get permission to make war against the Indians. The good Juan de la Casas says that he did all he could to dissuade Ojeda from his purpose, but all to no avail.

At one time previously, these Indians about Carthagena had been drawn into a skirmish with a detachment of Spaniards, so Ojeda considered them as enemies anyway. He succeeded in getting his permission on questionable grounds, from doubtful authority. These Indians used poisoned arrows, but Ojeda would not listen to reason. When Juan de la Casas saw that Ojeda was determined, he went with him. They made an attack on an Indian town called Calamar. Here they succeeded in capturing seventy Indians, and put them aboard one of the ships. Then they turned their attention to the chief's own town Tubacco (this is where we get the word "tobacco"). The fugitives from the first battle took refuge where they would harrass him should he return. On his

march to the town of the chief, Ojeda allowed his men to scatter, not maintaining an organized front, but traveling simply at random. The Indians in ambush noticing this carelessness, rushed into their midst, and in a hand to hand contest, every Spaniard was killed but Ojeda, who saved himself by his fleetness of foot and the use of his large shield which he held behind him as he ran.

The ships were slowly making their way up the coast until they heard of the destruction of the army. Men from the ships landed and made their way back to learn the result of the battle. They found only Ojeda, and he was nearly famished. He was nourished and brought back to Carthagena, but on learning that Nicuesa had arrived, he told his men that he did not wish to meet him, since they had quarrelled so much, that they should go on and let him perish. But his men positively refused to obey orders. They left Ojeda not far from Carthagena and went in and told Nicuesa that they would go out and if possible find Ojeda and others, and bring them in if Nicuesa would kindly treat Ojeda as though no trouble had ever taken place. Nicuesa assured them that he would treat Ojeda as a brother, forgetting the past, but he showed his displeasure at the intimation that he would take advantage of Ojeda in his helplessness. Ojeda was then brought in, and Nicuesa treated him as a brother according as he had promised.

Feeling that some of the men and possibly Juan de la Casas might be found, the governor of Carthagena joined with Nicuesa and sent their united forces out prepared to hunt for the men and to punish the In-

dians. They took the horses along, as the Indians were deathly afraid of the horses. When the Spaniards stormed the village and set the town on fire, the women ran out, but on seeing the horses, they ran back into the houses, apparently preferring death by fire, rather than to be trampled by the horses. The historians tell us that the soldiers were forbidden to give quarters to anyone, man, woman or child. All were slaughtered indiscriminately. The soldiers succeeded in finding the body of the historian Las Casas, but did not dare to touch it, as it was in such condition from the poisoned arrows that were in it.

When Ojeda had sufficiently recovered from his exhaustion, he took his men and started for the province of Darien, at the Gulf of Uraba. We are told that he captured all the Indians he met on the way. He was unable to find the Darien River which was to be the line between the two provinces. Not finding the river he disembarked on the eastern side where he built a town which he called San Sebastian. This town, San Sebastian, was now the third founded in the south on "Terra-firma" (South America). The first was Veragua, founded by Columbus. The second was by Ojeda at Vera Cruiz, on a previous voyage. Neither of these two proved to be permanent.

Ojeda now needing more men and supplies, sent the Indians and gold which he had stolen from them, back to the home settlement at San Domingo. He put his men to building up his town, and took his soldiers out on forays for more Indians and gold. Men with full stomachs are as crazy for gold as starving men are for meat. Provisions soon began to run low, with starva-

tion staring them in the face, when a ship hove in sight. It was soon learned that the ship had been stolen from a Genoese, by its commander who was bringing it to the new settlement, as here it would not be so likely to be identified or looked for as in a regular port. These hungry and half-starved men considered this as a visitation of Divine Providence to save the settlement. In this day and age, we are loth to believe that God would intervene to save this or any other band of murderers and thieves, especially found with stolen goods. From the character of these settlers, one would not have been surprised if Ojeda's men had confiscated the cargo and sent the ship adrift with the captain to starve. The fame of Ojeda had gone out through the land, and all the Indians in the country were alert and ready to massacre any stragglers from the fortress. They were watching continually for a opportunity to make a strenuous charge on Ojeda's settlement and utterly destroy it. The commander did what he could to soothe them by telling them that Enciso, the partner and Alcalda of the expedition was coming with an abundance of supplies. The attacks by the Indians were of almost continual occurrence, a perfect menace. Men were kept on guard day and night in great numbers.

The Indians found that they were dealing with a wily foe, who could play tricks as well as themselves. The Indians laid what was called an ambuscade. Then they feigned an attack. "Ojeda rushing with his usual vehemence, soon came to the ambuscade. Four bowmen, to Ojeda's surprise, sprang up letting their arrows fly at his men. One of the arrows pierced

Ojeda's thigh to the bone." With all the hairbreadth escapes, and in as many battles as he had gone through he had not even been scratched by a foe. He must heretofore have thought that his body was possessed of a charm. But at last he had the fatal poisoned arrow in his flesh. Something heroic must be done and that immediately. Hear the tragic story as told by Arthur Helps, the historian. "No veteran, however, could have shown more indifference to pain in the remedy that he insisted upon adopting. He ordered two plates of iron to be brought to a white heat, and to be held on the thigh, threatening the reluctant surgeon with hanging if he did not immediately apply the remedy. The heat was so severe that it not only burned up the leg and thigh, but penetrated his whole body so that it became necessary to expend a pipe of vinegar in moistening the bandages which were afterward applied. All this torture Ojeda endured without being bound." No man in all history has endured a more painful operation than this of Ojeda's. If only the surgeon had known about anesthetics and applied such knowledge, how easily he could have cut out the poison before it had time to reach the general circulation. Without "being bound," he lay comparatively still with a white hot iron plate pressed against his thigh and changed at intervals. Mr. Helps writes that the leg was "burned up." Certainly he does not mean that we should take this literally as he further speaks of Ojeda "traveling on foot."

By this time the supplies from the stolen ship were well nigh consumed. Naturally when ones stomach is empty, his whole frame, persistently calls out for

relief. These murderers soon became boisterous in their demands for food, the men would not endure stoically as Ojeda had under the white hot iron. Famine is surely a horrible condition viewed from any standpoint. Nothing had been heard from Enciso who was long overdue. Many expedients were suggested by the various men, as they really began to disbelieve that Enciso was to come at all. Ojeda could see that trouble was brewing, which must be forestalled if possible. The way the men were conjuring, boded no good for him. So he resolved to forestall them in some way or manner. He would anticipate their designs, by returning himself to Hispanolia and find Enciso, and return with provisions. Should he not return in fifty days then, in that event, Pizarro might take the two brigantines and go where he wished after destroying the settlement. This proposition was accepted. With a few of his men, Ojeda boarded the stolen vessel with Talavera, the captain. But his interests were not the interests of Talavera. They soon quarrelled on the ship and the men taking a hand, a feud broke out which finally resulted in Talavera putting Ojeda in chains and wrecking the ship. After landing, Ojeda was kept in chains only during a battle with the Indians and until they reached a swamp.

The trouble on the ship was this: Ojeda wanted to land at Hispanolia, but Talavera did not wish to land at so important a port and expose his theft. Before the feud was settled the ship grounded good and hard. They all succeeded in getting ashore with the ship's boats, and found friendly Indians, who kindly relieved their dire necessities, not knowing of the Uraba and

Darien affairs. Ojeda was terribly enraged at Talavera's men, declaring that crippled as he was he could kill all of them if they would attack him only by twos. After resting a while and being supplied by the generosity of the Indians, they started in the direction of Hispanolia. They soon fell into swampy ground for a long distance through a wide region of the country. They floundered in this swampy country for a whole month. Ojeda's courage never failed. He carried in his wallet an image of the Virgin Mary and when they camped in the swamp, Ojeda would hang this image to the limb of a tree above the water, that being especially a swamp tree as willows are in America. This image was a present to Ojeda from the Bishop Fonseca, and for this reason he very greatly revered it. He would pay his greatest adorations to the image and exhort the men to do the same. We are not told that Ojeda showed such exhibitions of piety when he was catching Indians for the slave trade, and murdering those he could not catch. Poor Ojeda was only exhibiting the various traits of unregenerated humanity. When all is well God is not needed, but in adversity, O then it is different. This comes from a passion inherent in human nature, when the world goes well with us, we forget our duty to God and humanity, but when we are "down and out," needing substantial help, then we call upon "God who is able to help."

Ojeda resolved to give the image to the first Indian that he should meet after the long weary month of swamp traveling was over. When the solid ground was again reached, and a counting was made, it was found that one-half of the men had been left perish-

ing in the water and slime of the swamp. After resting themselves a while, they again took up the march and soon found an Indian village. These Indians proved to be friendly, as all Indians were who had not heretofore come in contact with these saintly (?) but awful Spaniards. The image of the blessed Virgin was presented to the Chief, Cueba, with the request that he would "erect an 'Oratorio' for its reception and permanent care and protection." Ojeda endeavored to explain the meaning of the precious gift to the Indians, but it is doubtful if the ignorant beings caught more than that the Spaniards wanted to trade the image for a good lot of supplies for their journey forward. Anyway that was the result of the transaction. The old Chief proved his good will toward the company, by furnishing guides to Macaco. When at this point, the Spaniards remembered that there were Europeans on the Island of Jamaica. This remembrance brought joy to their hearts. Ojeda secured an Indian with a canoe to take one of the men to the settlement on Jamaica to inform their countrymen of their condition and probable fate if not soon succored. Diego Ordaz was sent on the mission, Ordaz safely reached Jamaica.

When the story was told to the governor, Esquivel, he sent a ship to rescue Ojeda and his companions. The captain of the ship, one Pamphill de Narvez, on seeing Ojeda, paddled out to the ship in a canoe and addressed him:

"Senor Ojeda will your worshipful please come hither? We have come to take you on board." But the once governor of Uraba, now but a wounded, ship-

wrecked, forlorn countryman had not expected to be addressed in such a grandiloquent manner, and replied "*Mi remo no remo*"—My oar rows not, or as an American would say, "My guns are spiked" or "My ears don't hear."

However Ojeda was kindly received and honorably treated. Although Esquivel had been seriously opposed by Ojeda at the time he made application for the governorship of Jamaica, as Ojeda had wanted Nicuesa to be appointed to that province. At the time of the appointment, Ojeda had said "When I go to Jamaica, I shall cut the Governor's head off." The Governor did not appear to be a resentful man or in the least fearful of Ojeda, who was now very much humilated, crippled and sorely stricken. Esquivel, like Nicuesa at Carthagena, when Ojeda escaped from the Calemar battle, was ready to forgive and forget the past and start with a clean slate, a magnificent spirit very much in contrast with Ojeda's history.

The Governor assisted Ojeda to San Domingo, the destination for which he started from Uraba. Talavera, the captain of the stolen ship and his partners fell into the clutches of the law on account of their piratical act. No notice of their friendship to Ojeda and his men, relieving them of starvation at two different times was ever taken by the prosecutors. But such is the way of the law, as one may save the lives of a thousand persons, then plots to wilfully kill one and succeeds, he becomes amendable to the law as though he had never done a kindly act in his whole life; nor would any other course suffice. Ojeda did not appear in Talavera's behalf, although he had large-

ly been a beneficiary of that act of piracy. The historian says that Ojeda did not make the charge or accusation against Talavera and his co-pirates, and neither does the author.

Let the reader surmise, the fifty days agreed to by Ojeda and his men at the time of leaving them had long since expired, and we hear nothing more from them till another chapter. Ojeda lived some years in San Domingo. Only once do we hear from him, that was that he narrowly escaped assassination through his activity in some affair. It seems if there is such a thing as a charmed life, his was such a one. He never regained his influence and power, however, and there is no record of his leaving the island of San Domingo. Hence he never returned to Uraba to look after his province, never made good to his friends who outfitted him, nor returned to Spain to visit his people. The historian says "This man who had been engaged from the first discovery of the new world in so many great enterprises and was the governor of Uraba, died in extreme poverty. Before his death he became a Franciscan monk, and wore the habit of that order up to the time of his death." The analist, Oveda, records that "Ojeda met a more laudable end than other captains in these parts have." He was buried just beyond the threshold of the church in the Monastery of St. Francis, from a wish of his own, often expressed, that the multitude of passers, might walk upon his tomb. Ojeda was a man, like many others of the time, reckless, violent, dashing, venturesome, vicious, headstrong and apparently extremely devout. It takes a great stretch of the imagination to consider such a man

as a devout Christian. It appears to the writer that Ojeda violated every tenet of the Christian religion, save and except baptism and the adoration of the Virgin Mary, which latter is not generally accepted as a tenet of Christian doctrine. One historian writes: "So much does one love bravery, even of the coarsest kind, that many will echo the pious wish that it may have pleased God to bless Ojeda before death with a knowledge of his sins and with repentance for his dealings with the Indians."

We have now finished with Ojeda, and no doubt the reader will be interested to learn the fate of Ojeda's men left at San Sebastian. Remember that they were to remain fifty days and by that time if Ojeda should not have returned, or Enciso had not arrived with provisions, then and in that event, the men could take the caravels and go wherever they wished. The fifty days expired about the time that Ojeda was wallowing in that dismal, swampy country. These famine stricken men, it is said, had been subsisting on grass and herbs alone. This statement is hardly credible as these men had both horses and dogs enough to last them more than fifty days. It is the belief of the writer that many of these starvation stories are in many instances exaggerated. Further on it will be seen that these men had horses at the time they were said to be living on grass and herbs.

They wanted to leave long before they did, but as they could not all go in the two brigantines, they waited until death had reduced their numbers to the capacity of the two brigantines. Then they killed their horses, dried the meat, loaded up and started. The usual bad

luck followed in their wake, with a disaster before they were hardly at sea. Pizarro was commanding one, and Valenzuela the other of the brigantines. When sixty miles from shore, some sea-monster struck Valenzuela's boat and wrecked it. The historian fails to tell us how many men were lost, if any, and as the other boat was full and we hear nothing more of the lost captain, it is fair to presume that all were lost. Very shortly after this disaster, we are told that Pizarro saw a ship and brigantine approaching. The ship was found to be in charge of Enciso, with the long looked for supplies. Enciso was told the awful story of what had taken place at San Sebastian, but would not believe them, arrested them for desertion, and put the leaders in chains, vowing that they had deserted Ojeda and that he would return them to the settlement, till they, one and all, proved the truth of their statement.

The reader will remember that Enciso was a lawyer and would obey orders no matter what happened. He had furnished the money to Ojeda for the outfit and he would go to San Sebastian and see for himself. And so he did and found the fort entirely destroyed. Enciso had in the ship one hundred and fifty men, several horses, arms, powder and provisions.

A peculiar incident occurred which needs relating here, as it will introduce the great Vasco Nunez Balboa, who is reputed to be the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, and is one of the strongest minded men of history. The object of telling this long story has been to show up this man Balboa, whom the school boy and many of the mature minds have lauded to the skies for

discovering the greatest ocean on the globe, the Great South Sea, as he called the discovery.

Enciso was on his way to succor the San Sebastian settlement, when well out to sea, he was told that some of his men had discovered a stow-away on board. Enciso was enraged at the discovery. The stow-away proved to be Vasco Nunez Balboa, a friend of Columbus, who was with Columbus in his first trip of western discovery. Balboa, in order to get away from Hispanolia, to dodge his creditors, had induced a friend to put him in a barrel and clandestinely get him aboard in the cargo of Enciso's stores. There are several stories about how he was smuggled aboard the ship, but all are agreed that Enciso was tricked into carrying this fellow from Hispanolia, which finally resulted in Enciso's destruction. No debtor was allowed by law to leave the Island without the consent of the authorities. Enciso being a lawyer, and a great stickler for details, felt that he had himself inadvertantly violated the law by carrying this fellow without a passport. The result was that Vasco Balboa was immediately put in chains for a while; then taking time to think the matter over, Enciso saw that nothing was gained by the chains as the ship was prison enough, so the chains were removed. We shall hear much of this man and attend his funeral before we are done with him. There will be much to admire and much to condemn in his actions. Let us quote from the historian in his own language: "To those who know the part that Vasco Nunez Balboa was about to play, it almost seems as if the Arabian story of the unfortunate man who freed a malignant sporot from durance and found

that it had sworn to destroy the person who should deliver it, was about to be enacted over again."

After Enciso learned that the story of the leaving of San Sebastian was true, he took all hands to Carthagena, before looking up San Sebastian for another effort for peopling the place, as the starving condition of the men caused him to think better of the story. While they were stopped at Carthagena, near where the ship ran onto the remnant of Ojeda's men, Enciso planned to go out and make a foray on the Indians for plunder only, as he was opposed to the indiscriminate killing of the Indians without sufficient cause. The fact seems to be that Enciso was determined to see the country around San Sebastian for himself. The remnant of Ojeda's men had had enough of San Sebastian, but the promise of a foray won them over. So all embarked for that place. Everything went fine until the Captain undertook to make a landing. Some mishap in making the throw, the ship went on a big rock and immediately began to go to pieces. With the ship's boat and the brigantine, the men managed to get ashore. But all the live stock and nearly all the stores were lost. Then it was that Enciso saw that the story told by the men was true. The reader can imagine what a clamor went up to the very heavens by Ojeda's remnant. They were now back where Ojeda was shot with the poisoned arrow and in a much worse condition than when they left in the brigantines, as now they had no animals for food and a hundred more men to forage for. Enciso was blamed for not taking their story for truth and remaining at Carthagena.

For a time they were able to live on the few small animals that they caught in the mountains, but the two hundred or more could not be maintained long without some regular system for obtaining food. "What could be done" became the burning question. Make a raid on the Indians, who use the poisoned arrows? Horrid thought! Ojeda had found these Indians about San Sebastian to be formidable foes to meet even when their antagonists were well equipped. Poor Enciso! All he could do was to listen to this upbraiding by Pizarro for his disbelief of the story of the destruction of San Sebastian, and Ojeda's disappearance. Everybody was downhearted. Many suggestions were made and considered. However we hear nothing from poor Enciso as he was practically dumbfounded.

Finally Balboa (the stow-away) took the floor, as it were, and spoke up as follows: "I recollect that when I was with Bastidas entering Uraba, that we disembarked in the western part of it, and that we found an Indian town near a great river, in the midst of a fertile country, and that the Indians in these parts did not use the poisoned arrows." This river of which Balboa spake, proved to be the river Darien which Ojeda could not find when he made his settlement at San Sabastian. This information was immediately accepted and acted upon. Enciso took with him the heretofore despised Balboa (thanking his stars that Balboa had been smuggled aboard at Hispanolia) and with one hundred men set out to find the Indian town. They found the town as Balboa had represented. But the Indians had heard of the cruelty of the Spaniards

in other parts, so were not inclined to be friendly. On the approach of the army, they had sent the women and the children away, but five hundred Indian warriors had taken up a position on a hill and awaited the orders of their Chief, Camaco, for the battle. On this battle hung the fate of the new colony. If the Indians win, slow starvation or imminent death will claim every man in the colony. If the Spaniards win, the star of hope will rise again. The moment is tense! The crisis is on! The Spaniards all dropped on their knees and devoutly vowed that if victorious, they would dedicate their first church and settlement to Santa Maria de la Antigua, an image so-called in Seville. Such images being very much revered in Spain. Enciso had all his men take an oath that they would not turn their backs to the enemy. They also vowed that they would send a company of pilgrims with jewels to the shrine of Santa Maria at Seville.

As the battle progressed, the Spaniards soon discovered that Balboa was correct when he said that these Indians did not use poison on their arrows. This was some comfort to the men as they did not dread the arrows half so much as they did the poison. They could pull the arrow out, but they could not destroy the poison. None thought they had the heroism of Ojeda. When the fighting commenced in good earnest, the Indians finding that their puny arrows were no match for the bullets of the Spaniards, they took flight, leaving easy victory to the white men. Had the Spaniards known that the victory would have been won so easily, they might have saved their jewels for some future occasion. The historians do not all vouch

for this story as told above, as there are other versions that appear to be nearer true to Spanish treachery, one of which we give below: "The Indians received the Spaniards cordially, and gave them provisions and gold, but when asked from whence came the gold, their chief refused to divulge the secret. Camaco, the Chief, was then tortured until he yielded. Then he and nearly all of his men were put to the sword."

By this time Enciso's scruples about killing Indians had vanished like a dream, until he could lead a foray like the fiercest desperado. All his sticklers for law, justice and moderation had gone astray with his scruples. This last version is more in harmony with the regular stories of the Spanish conquests. We said "in harmony," but we are chagrined to put such a beautiful word in such bad company; will the reader please excuse? No matter which of the stories be true, the plain fact is, the battle was fought victoriously or the slaughter was accomplished successfully, not for the poor Indians, but for Enciso's company, although, without the least provocation or justification by the mauraders. The Indians who escaped the slaughter, presumably fled to the women and children. Enciso entered the town, procuring a large quantity of provisions and while still searching for more, he discovered in a dense thicket of brakes, numerous household goods of the Indians, among them, gold breast plates and gold chains. Enciso then sent to San Sebastian for the rest of his people to come at once as he had plenty of provisions. It was Enciso's desire now to found a settlement.

It is said that Enciso built a town and named it

"Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien." It is a difficult task to follow these tyrannical Spaniards and believe their mostrous stories. The reader has been informed that all their cargo save a few provisions was lost when the ship went on the rocks at San Sebastian; then how in the world of truth, could they "found" anything, without tools or implements? Possibly they piled up a few stones as Jacob did where he wrestled with God for a blessing. But these gentlemen (?) from Spain failed to give details. No wonder details were often omitted, for they seldom win the favor of the reader, or his sympathy. But Enciso had a greater task before him than piling up rocks or shaping and fitting rocks together without trowel or mortar. His job was to hold together a lot of cross, vicious, contentious, disgruntled remnants of several disbanded parties who had lost their confidence, their ability and integrity and were under the forced leadership of their leader. It is doubtful if the men had any amicable feelings for Enciso, and surely none of them whom he picked up after sailing from Hispanolia. And it is doubtful that Enciso had that quality in his makeup to manage men successfully, even under favorable conditions. The Ojeda men continually contended that they were not legally bound to sustain him, much less to obey him. Ojeda was their leader and he might return any day. And further, they were not in his territory, but in Nicuesa's. Enciso being a lawyer, was fully aware that their position was well taken. It would appear that by this time he had lost his veneration for the law, if not his own self respect. The chronicler tells us, and we think he is right, that such

a pretext would not have disturbed a real commander, but it was of sufficient force against Bachiller Enciso. In many ways he had offended these malcontents, and they were through with him almost to a man.

While we have no such proof, still the writers generally charge Balboa, the barrelled stow-away with being the leader in the mutiny that followed the victory over the Indians. It appears that Balboa in an angry moment had said "Enciso had only the name of an educated gentleman and scholar, Bachiller, with none of the qualities or accomplishments which that word indicated, but was a most cunning fox." The men openly declared that they would depose Enciso, and called a meeting for an election. In such a time as this, men are likely to lay all petty dislikes aside and look for real ability. The election was held with the result that Vasco Nunez Balboa was elected "Governor" and one Zamudio for Alcalda and one Valdivia for regidor. But we are told that this election was not satisfactory to the minds of the unfortunate colonists of Enciso. There were really three sets of men, one for Balboa, another for Enciso, and still another for Nicuesa. The latter had left behind him in Hispanolia, one Colmenares with stores and provisions. The authorities there had placed many hinderances in the way of his embarcation. That, owing to these hinderances, it was ten months after his chief had sailed, that Rodriego Colmenares was able to follow. He touched at different points on the way, enquiring for Nicuesa, and where there were no ports, making occasionally, smoke signals on the shore and firing guns which were at last heard by Enciso's

men, who returning, called Rodriego Colmenares by signals to them. The arrival was in 1510. The receipt of these supplies made a strong impression in his favor. Also his kindness to Ojeda was remembered when the latter was vanquished in his first engagement with the Indians, and how Nicuesa had forgiven all and treated Ojeda as a brother. All of which had been done so cheerfully and willingly. The result was that nearly all of Enciso's men joined with those of Colmenares', in imploring him to come and take command of them. We have heard nothing from Nicuesa since he and Ojeda parted long ago, Ojeda for the east side of the Darien River and Nicuesa for the west side. The reader will remember that Ojeda could not find the Darien River, but to be sure that he was in his own province, he had set up at San Sebastian east of the gulf of Uraba. Nicuesa was lagging behind on his way to the west side of the gulf into which the river Darien discharged her waters. All of these two parties are now living together again except Nicuesa himself, so we must hunt for Nicuesa, was the general feeling. We will do so by following his movements since the time he lagged behind Ojeda on their way to their new provinces, San Sebastian and Veragua.

The testimony is so tangled that we have to conclude to give it in full from Arthur Help's "Conquest of America," which was written near the year 1850. If the reader could have a good map before him of the Isthmus of Panama it would assist materially in understanding the various situations herein mentioned. Now for the story.

"Nicuesa left the port soon after Ojeda quitted it,

and bent his course toward his province of Veragua. Lope de Olano of whose previous life we only know that he was concerned in a revolt of Roldan against Columbus, was Nicuesa's captain general. The mode of sailing was this: Nicuesa went in a caravel attended by two brigantines, in one of which was Lope de Olano. Nicuesa's caravel and the brigantine kept close to the shore; the two large ships stood out more to sea, as was requisite, all going westward, making their way to Veragua. But soon after quitting Carthagena, the weather became very contrary and one stormy night, Nicuesa, to avoid danger near the coast, put out to sea, and in the course of the night parted company with all the other vessels. Neither of the brigantines nor the other two vessels were to be seen in the morning. Nicuesa was in great tribulation thinking that his fleet had been lost. He returned toward the coast and went up a river, the name of which is not given. There, the tide, flowing out with great rapidity and unperceived by the ship's crew, left Nicuesa on a sandbank. The caravel instantly fell on its side and began to go to pieces. Nicuesa and his ship's company were only saved by the boldness of one of them who contrived to fasten a rope to a tree by which, as on a bridge, the men made their way to the land. But all the stores, provisions and clothes were lost. One thing of value however, remained to them—the boat. In that Nicuesa put four men, and ordered them to coast along the west, keeping near him, while the rest pursued their course by land. The journey was a terrible one. Half naked and without shoes, they had to make their way across swamps, amid unknown and untraversed

country. Neither were they without fear of the hostile Indians, for one morning a page of Nicuesa who was conspicuous from wearing a white sombrero, and whom, probably the Indians took for the chieftain of the Spaniards, was shot dead by an arrow, to the great sorrow of his master.

Thus they proceeded for some days when on one occasion, imagining that they could save much distance by all of them going in the boat from one promontory to another, where the land made a great curve inward, they did so, using their boat by turns, and all of them got safely to the headland, which proved not to be a part of the coast, but a desert island, where there was not even fresh water. The only thing like it was a pool, here and there, of muddy swamp. The four seamen who managed the boat went off with it one night, very likely the night after they made the discovery that this was an island. Nicuesa and his men were left to endure the extremes of suffering. Some of the men went mad with misery. Like the beasts of the field, they went on all fours and fed on what herbage they could find that was not noxious. Leaving Nicuesa in this deplorable state, we have to turn to his second in command, Lope de Olano, and to his proceedings on the morning after the storm in which Nicuesa parted company from his fleet.

We cannot conceive that Lope de Olano was much to blame for what he did on this occasion, perhaps a very zealous officer in Nicuesa's behalf might have done more. Meeting with the other brigantine, which a certain Qedro de Umbria commanded, the two captains took counsel together and concluded that as Ni-

cuesa would be sure to make his way to Veragua, they resolved to hold on their course in that direction. They found the other vessels in the river Chagres, which then was called the River of Lizzards, a name it had received from Columbus. It was then, we imagine, that Lope de Olano, finding that the great vessels had no tidings from the caravel, said that their commander was lost, which perhaps Olano really thought, and by general consent he took command of the expedition. But it was no longer in a hopeful state. The ships had suffered greatly from a worm which was very destructive to ship timbers on that coast, and all the provisions had been spoiled or lost. After several unimportant movements from the River Chagres to the River Belem, and to the Veragua, where it appears that Alamo endeavored to found a colony, which ended in failure, we find Olano on the shore near the river Belem with the great ship knocked to pieces, a caravel formed out of it, with his two brigantines with no stores and no provisions and many of his men dead. It was noticed that the men died always when the tide was ebbing.

The treachery of the four mariners who left Nicuesa on the barren island, proved eventually a very fortunate treachery for him. Coasting along the eastward, they came to the spot where Lope de Olano was and told him of the ill fortune of Nicuesa, saying that they had left not telling their commander, in order to save the whole party. The news of the existence of Nicuesa was probably very unwelcome to Olano, but he sent a brigantine to bring him off, and in it what provisions he could spare, being palm tree buds and such wretched stuff, which was all they had to eat there. The brigan-

tine succeeded in reaching the desert island where they found Nicuesa still alive, and they brought him safely to his company at the River Belem. The first thing he did was to command the arrest of Lope de Olano, and to bitterly reproach his other principal officers for not having made the attempt to discover him. They humbly implored his forgiveness. Had they not suffered enough, they asked? Four hundred were already lost, and they, the rest, were in a fair way to perish. But Nicuesa, whose good qualities were such as flourish only in sunny seasons, was no longer gracious, but on the contrary, ill conditioned. Here now may be seen the difference between a commander by nature and an accidental one."

The historian here stops to make a long digression on human temperments. Matters were going from bad to worse, as one day followed another Nicuesa was against all, with hardly a friend to show him even the smallest favor, while Olano was still in chains. Starvation was rife, misfortune dogged most of their movements; however occasionally it seemed that fortune had not entirely forsaken them. While there seems to be nothing before them but starvation, disaster and misery, their hearts were greatly strengthened by the sight of an unexpected sail bringing a ship toward the haven near by. Luckily it proved to be Nicuesa's friend, the long-looked for Colmenares, who was looking for Nicuesa, as he was slowly pushing his course eastward, and coming upon their track, found them. Joy as only on such occasions reigned throughout the camp.

Nicuesa fell at the feet of Colmenares. There were

but seventy now left. The men had been falling like flies in the first frost of winter. Out of the seven hundred and eighty men who left the port of Hispanolia, there were now less that two hundred alive, and these badly scattered. Some of the historians say there were but seventy, but we are taking the number as given by Colmenares who ought to be the most likely to know. We conclude that thirty were present and one hundred scattered, but still living. According to the historian Peter Martyr, "Colmenares found Nicuesa, of all living men, the most unfortunate, in a manner dried up with extreme hunger, filthy and horrible to behold."

Now that he had been summoned to become governor of the remnant of his own force and that of Ojeda's also, Nicuesa's fine temper had left him for good, and his former good sense also had deserted him and left him a poor, helpless creature, not competent to master the simplest proposition, much less to be a master of men. But his avarice had increased greatly at the expense of all his better faculties. He learned that Ojeda's men, in their travels had found gold and had taken it from the Indians at Veragua, in his domain east of Darien, and he would take it from them. He gave out that he would dispossess them of the precious stuff. During all this starvation, these men were burdened with gold that was forced from the Indians. They could not eat it, nor warm themselves with it. In the wilderness, gold was worthless to them as it was to the Indians, only pretty to look at, and even then not to starving men.

Nicuesa was coming to take the government of the

settlement, by invitation and election, but upon learning of his mental condition, men like Balboa and Pizarro determined that he should not land at their settlement at Darien. As the boat on which he was sailing, was about to land, Nicuesa saw a body of men lined up as in form for battle. When he attempted to come ashore, one of the officers cried aloud "Nicuesa cannot come ashore". This, to Nicuesa, was like as though some great calamity had befallen, and he was correct. He cried "Gentlemen! You sent for me. Let me land and we will talk the matter over. I have to hear you and you have to hear me, then we have to understand each other. Afterward, do with me what you will." But the men of Darien cried "No." It was evening and the ship drew off from shore, intending to return in the morning, thinking the men might change their minds. When the ship returned in the morning, the men beckoned Nicuesa to come to them, as they intended to lay hands on him. But by their unfriendly demeanor as they rushed toward him, he saw what they meant, so he dashed away and out-stepped them.

It is said that Balboa was really ashamed of the whole proceeding and counseled the men to hear Nicuesa, who came up and asked the privilege to remain with them as a companion, then put him in chains as a prisoner. But all his propositions were rejected. They only mocked him. We are told that Balboa did what he could to have the men treat Nicuesa civilly, even inflicting punishment on some of them for their rude conduct. He even gave one man a hundred stripes for persistently tantalizing Nicuesa. But seeing that he could not resist the

whole settlement, went privately to Nicuesa, telling him not to trust himself among the men unless he should see him (Balboa) with them. But Nicuesa had given orders to himself not to take orders from anyone but the king, and then only in writing. Afterwards a deputation came to him saying they would welcome him, if he would pardon their rude reception. He listened to them and placed himself in their hands, but no sooner had they got him in their power, it is said, than they demanded that he should take his cause before the king. The reader will remember this later as it will come up again in another disaster.

These wretches made Nicuesa swear that he would go away and not stop until he had appeared before the king of Spain. Certainly this was only taunting him, as their subsequent treatment of him will show. In vain he reminded the colony that they were in his territory, putting in a loud protest, calling on God to witness their driving him away when he was not provisioned for such a voyage. But when men are determined, they pay no attention to flattery, cajolery, threats or promises. The most unseaworthy brigantine they had in port was made ready for Nicuesa's deportation, a boat that should have been junked long before. In this manner poor Nicuesa, once governor of a province was set adrift, never again to be seen by civilized man. Farewell, Nicuesa! Probably you were worthy of a better fate, but your conduct alone brought you to this wretched, awful ending. The last words he was heard to say were: "Show thy face O Lord and we shall be saved." Some suppose the old brigantine went to pieces in a storm on the rocks;

others contended that he went to his old stand at Veragua, as an inscription was found cut in the bark of a tree in Latin, which translated, is "Here went lost the unfortunate Diego de Nicuesa." These words might have been written when that barren desert island was visited before when Nicuesa was rescued. March 1, 1511, was the date of this expulsion, when Nicuesa with seventeen companions were driven out, none of whom survived the voyage.

In the mutiny which drove Nicuesa and the seventeen men to their deaths, the Historian seems inclined to exculpate Balboa from a prominant part in that affair, but his later conduct convinces us that Balboa was the ring-leader in the whole proceeding, and that the pretended punishment was a feint.

Ojeda and Nicuesa lost more than one thousand men in their efforts to colonize the isthmus country before they, themselves retired, homeless, destitute and broken. They were men of wonderful vitality, but head-strong and willful. If you ask "What was the downfall of these men, given in one word?" the answer is "Greed." Greed without conscience. Christians in the sanctuary, devils in the open!

Balboa had proven himself to be the strongest man left at Darien. We will now follow him until his head falls in the basket. He was like the great admiral Columbus in popularity. We are trying to show the characteristics of these "World Conquerers," the reader can size them up in his own mind with easy imagination, while we try to give the facts. Columbus has been disposed of, Ojeda and Nicuesa have left the country forever, Enciso is gone, but to return later to

prosecute Balboa. Now it will be necessary to show to the world what one old barrel can hold in contraband goods in human form.

When Enciso knocked the staves from that fugitive Balboa, little did he appreciate the results of his actions. But the reader is entitled to know the character of this man, this barrel absconder who has risen to chief commander among his fellows, with Colmenares and Enciso in the ranks. What a wonderful story! Certainly "truth is stranger than fiction." Should any fiction writer duplicate the story now to be given as an attempt to interest the reader with conditions improbable and results impossible and beyond comprehension, his story would be rejected. To start with, let us imagine the absconder from his creditors, clandestinely smuggled into a ship, detected, put in chains, hated, buffeted, despised, and living on the mercies of the commander; low-born, unfitted, uneducated, but finally rising in superiority to all with whom he came in contact. Sometimes harsh, merciless, arrogant and abusive. But there is an end to all things human, so we shall learn of Balboa's end before we finish his struggle and miraculous story.

CHAPTER V

VASCO DE GAMA

AFTER the discovery of America by Columbus, Portugal, smarting under the conviction of the great prestige she had lost by allowing her great and growing rival, Spain, to win the glory of the great discovery, through her own negligence, or rather refusal to finance Columbus, was now determined to follow up the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, by sending a fleet around the Cape and up the eastern coast of Africa. She hoped to make discoveries on the way to India, and if possible, thus open up a route for trade with that fabulously rich country which would stimulate anew the trade with and knowledge of that most interesting part of the world, and by a route far more practicable than the ancient overland route across the isthmus of Suez and around the Persian Gulf. From time immemorial, the traffic between Europe and Asia had been moved by caravans of innumerable camels enured to the desert, a very slow and tedious and very expensive method of transportation. The king of Portugal thought if he could be successful in such an undertaking, he could recover the prestige which he had lost in Spain. A practicable and sure route to India would be a thousand times more valuable and attractive than a trade route to a wild heathenish people to be found on the islands discovered by Columbus, and more valuable to the world at large.

It seems to have been known to navigators that the rich country of the Magi of faraway Cathay could be

reached by the southern route, as Marco Polo had done by the northern route of the Norsemen. But that rigid climate was the great barrier to that route, rendering it altogether impracticable and of no commercial value. The king was so enthusaistic over the prospect of redeeming Portugal's lost prestige that in 1497, while the principal talk was of the great discoveries of Columbus—"the hero of the world," that he began to assemble his fleet which was made up of three vessels, the flag ship San Gabriel, the San Raphael, commanded by Vasco de Gama, and the Berrio, Nicoelho and a store ship. On July 8, 1497, they sailed. In company with them was a ship commanded by Diaz, to take charge of a fort on the African coast. Gama's pilot was Pero de Alenquer who had been with him on his memorable voyage around the Cape a few years before. From the Cape Verde Islands, Gama made a new departure. Instead of creeping along the coast as had been done before by the various captains, he shaped his course through the mid-Atlantic, since Columbus had dispelled the danger of getting lost or "falling off the edge of the earth." Thus he did not sight land for ninety-three days, a much longer period than Columbus was out of sight of land on his voyage to America. What a wonderful change had taken place in the minds of navigators since Columbus had made his discoveries. Then de Gama set his course for the latitude of the Cape. But before reaching the Cape, he anchored in a bay in the lee of an island which he named St. Helena. This is the famous island on which Napoleon made his last unwilling residence.

What a wonderful thing it would have been, such a voyage, only five or six years before! The seamen would have rebelled had they been kept from sight of land for three months. They would have mutinied and put the captain in chains or murdered him, but now fear of getting lost or being swallowed by sea-monsters had entirely disappeared. De Gama's ships lay at anchor in St. Helena Bay, not far from the Cape. The geography of South Africa was now familiar to Gama, as he had been a careful student, especially since the discovery of America in 1492. He lay at anchor until he cleaned his ships and renovated things in general, mending sails and taking on wood, observing the natives, one of which was captured as he walked along the beach. The white men surrounding him frightened the poor man terribly. But when they took him on board, de Gama turned him over to the ships boys, one of whom was a Negro, and by order of de Gama, he was treated very kindly. We are told that the next day the native was turned loose and sent ashore, laden with presents, whereupon his fellows readily changed from fear to admiration and came around showing much friendship. But before the ships sailed the natives planned to take one of the ship's men by violence and nearly succeeded. This showed that these natives were wicked, wily and crafty, if not murderous, a disposition which was very unusual on the first visit by white people. "Gama was wounded in the bout," but the historian failed to record the severity of the wound, or the extent of the injury.

"Setting sail on the 6th of November, de Gama soon

made the Cape." On account of boisterous weather and adverse winds, he found that the name "Foul-weather Cape" was quite an appropriate name and not unworthy of its history. The time consumed in "doubling" the cape was sixteen days. However, sailors have learned the caprices of the currents and winds until we hear nothing more about the dangers of the "Stormy Cape." On the 16th day of December, the ships reached the highest point touched by Diaz, who with some of his old crew were on these ships, but he, himself had debarked to take charge of a colony as Governor. From this point ahead no white man had ever sailed the east African coast or trod the land, until long after the Equator had been passed. The African coast abounded in game of the largest and smallest known to earth, such as gazelles, zebras, giraffes, buffalos, elephants, lions and tigers. Occasionally populations of Negroes who looked upon the whites as intruders on the rights of the natives, were inclined to resent the intrusion when the crews asked for water. But when the sailors offered trade, they became quite friendly and traded fat cattle for worthless trinkets. They had no horses, but used the cattle for various purposes such as riding and carrying loads. They had curiously constructed saddles for the various purposes for which they were used.

The captain, for many days, sailed out to sea beyond the sight of land, and in consequence, the crew again got out of water, so they were compelled to steer for land and search for a harbor where they could safely anchor. On Christmas Day they sighted land, which on account of the day they called "Natals." On

January the 11th they found a good harbor, went in and anchored. The natives were tall and well shaped people and seemed very friendly. De Gama sent ashore some sailors whom he had with him in the Congo, with presents for their chief—a jacket, a Moorish cap and a pair of bracelets. The chief received the messenger with a warm welcome and immediately donned the articles and took his guests to his camp and served them with fowl and porridge of millet "and it is observed that the food must have been, to the sailors, after their long voyage eating food cooked in sea water, a most delicate repast."

After the water tank had been replenished and the supply of fresh food had been provided, the ships again sailed up the coast finding that the intelligence of the natives increased as they neared the more civilized parts of the country. By the 24th of February, the expedition was nearing the harbor where their journey would end, and all hands were joyous with the prospect of seeing the civilization of the far-famed Orient. On March 2nd they anchored in the harbor of Mozambique. In this port of the Europeans they found four vessels "laden with gold, silver, cloves, pepper, ginger, and silver rings, also pearls, jewels and rubies." How the westerners (the people we call easterners) did look with covetous eyes and gaze on these articles which could not be produced in Europe and had always been carried by camels across by way of Suez. Sure they could no longer doubt that Columbus with his new ideas, was right, and happy were they that they had taken voyage with de Gama, instead of

shipping with Columbus to the Indies on an expedition to help kill defenseless Indians.

Eager were the whole ship's crew to see the far-famed Kubla Khan and the world renowned "Prester John" and the far-away "Cathay," with her pearl houses with gold laid roofs, of which Marco Polo wrote so many years ago. When told that these charming sights were in the interior and could only be reached by riding camel back, these sailors cried like a lot of children who had no one to present them with tickets for the circus. But they prayed to God that they might live to some day see these wonderful things. There were surprises there for all. The chronicler was a sailor, but he gives some interesting information about the ship which he examined: "Built without nails, planks fastened together with coir rope and having sails made of matting." They used nautical instruments in their navigation, and charts superior to those used in Europe or by Europeans of their day. They had Genoese needles or compasses and charts These needles recently invented in Europe or recently introduced there, it is said have long been known to the Chinese. The story is told that the Sultan treated the new-comers well "until he discovered that they were Christians, then he began to plan, through treachery, toward us," so says the chronicler.

But who could blame the Mohammedans for disliking the Christians, as no doubt they had by this time heard how the Spaniards were treating the Indians in the newly discovered islands. No uncivilized people on earth have ever treated any people worse than many Spaniards treated the Cuban and other

natives. We are told that the first trouble with the Mohammedans grew out of the escape of one of the pilots whom de Gama had hired without the approval of the Sultan. Two boats going in search of the escapee, were met by several boats filled with armed men. The Portugese soon routed their assailants by discharging their bombards. The next trouble had was in reference to obtaining water. The Portugese landed at night and searched until daylight under the guidance of a native pilot. But the pilot either could not or would not lead the sailors to fresh water, but seemed more intent on making his escape. Water they must have, therefore on the next evening attended by the same native, the searchers for water approached the landing. A few natives well armed with their crude weapons were drawn up in battle array to oppose the landing. But a few bombards from the Portugese guns sent the natives scurrying to the brush. The Portugese then landed and found all the fresh water needed. While they were procuring the water, the natives made some resistance with bows and slings, but finally fled to the palisades for cover. The town was then bombarded for at least three hours. At least two men were killed.

De Gama slowly proceeded up the coast until the 24th of April. He then decided to procure a pilot to guide him across the Arabian sea, but the Africans were not in a mood to grant favors to such cruel men. So the representative of the Sultan refused to send Gama a pilot, evidently desiring that Gama's vessels be wrecked and all the Portugese lost. But Vasco de Gama was a man of resources. He managed some de-

ception to get hold of a confidential servant of the acting sultan and held him on board sending out notice that his captive would be carried away unless he could get a pilot. Upon getting this information, the authorities found a Christian pilot, who was gladly furnished for the release of the captive. De Gama was much pleased to get a pilot of his own faith, and one with whom he could converse in his native tongue. The historian from whom we get the account of this voyage, as said before, was the ship's chronicler and he writes as though they crossed the Arabian Sea to reach Calcutta. He must have meant the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, east of the peninsula, for had he crossed the Arabian Sea, he would have landed on the west coast of Arabia.

De Gama was twenty or thirty days sailing from Mozambique to Calcutta. On the 20th day of May, 1500, he anchored his vessels two leagues from the present site of the city of Calcutta, just two hundred years after Marco Polo wrote his book in the Genoese prison. "The mills of the gods grind slowly," but in the course of time "they grind it all." Two hundred years is a long time for seed to hold its virtue, then bud and blossom into fruit. Vasco de Gama was not royally welcomed, for the King was not anxious to have men of the Christian faith enter his dominion. But he finally fixed upon a time for an audience with de Gama, but when the time arrived, he kept his guest waiting for four hours, like a common mendicant asking alms. De Gama had to be well coached as to the manner in which he should enter into the royal presence. When Gama entered into the king's presence,

he acquitted himself as best his training would permit. A quiet response was sufficient permission for de Gama to open conversation with his highness. The King was reclining on a couch covered with stuffs embroidered in gold while listening to Gama through an interpreter. Vasco de Gama extolled the greatness of his own king and his anxiety to open trade relations with so great and estimable a man as the King of India. He disavowed that his mission was for gold as his own sovereign had an abundance of that article. It was for friendship, good will and the exchange of products that the king of Portugal desired to be the friend of the great King of India.

Vasco de Gama did little harm to the natives on his outward sail, but he showed his inhumanity in many respects on his return, and crowned his history with injustice, inhumanity, horror and bloodshed almost equal to that of the Spaniards in the Indies. He had many captive Indians to be sold into slavery to make the voyage profitable and thereby please his royal highness the King of Portugal. The consequences of this voyage were very great, although powerful influences were brought to nullify the effects of opening up the new route.

For generations, these easterners had been sending caravans of camels to the Mediterranean Sea loaded with products of the far East, which necessitated a long journey over the dry and sandy plains, a veritable desert but a very lucretive business as these Arabians had no opposition or competition except among themselves. Such competition was easily inside of good profits in an unlimited trade as the westerners (Eu-

ropeans) would purchase all the output of Arabia at the prices fixed by the sellers. The discovery of the south-African route would break up the great monoply so long enjoyed by the Arabians and destroy the selfish policy which had so long controlled the use of the strait of Gibralter, and admit the trade to world competition by an all-water route for the unlimited transportation from west to east at far cheaper rates.

The publicity of de Gama's voyage stirred the world into action fully as much as the discovery of America by Columbus, and by many was considered of much more importance as it met with a more ready response. De Gama accomplished what Columbus had tried and only partially succeeded in accomplishing, as de Gama had gotten the results expected—an open road to the rich oriental country of the faraway wonderful Cathay, the country of the great Kubla Khan. The dream of Columbus had been brought to the world in reality by the intrepidity of Vasco de Gama, in the employ of his own country. This expedition had really been on the very borders of the fabled land, opening the way for all nations to travel and purchase at first hand for themselves. In this one bold venture, Portugal had regained her lost prestige and now was in the eyes of the world, a rival to Spain. But Portugal had still a gigantic task ahead as the far eastern freighters of the Mediterranean resisted this threatened destruction of their ancient freight route. This necessitated Portugal's defending her new route at a tremendous cost and a considerable loss of life.

As the years went by there was a continual clash going on between Spain and Portugal, each struggling

for the supremacy of the sea. Spain was claiming superior rights in the Indies, and really, the contention between those conducting exploring expeditions was for ten or more years, confined to the West India Islands. But with Balboa's report of the discovery of the great South Sea, world conditions rapidly began to change. And within a very few years the great navigators began to discuss the question of navigating the South Sea, and Spain embraced the first opportunity offered to find a passageway through the land to the Great Sea or to find whether or not the southern extremity of the land could be circumnavigated as the southern extremity of Africa had been.

This leads us to Magellan, but before taking up Magellan we will despose of Balboa. The reader by this time, no doubt, has noticed how an unbroken chain runs through from one circumstance or accomplishment to another and how all of the discoverers of the Columbian era are linked together, and how each succeeding discovery depended upon a former. The Ericsons fired the mind of Marco Polo; Columbus almost learned Polo's book by heart and was with Diaz at the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; Balboa was with Columbus when the great discovery was made; Portugal, smarting and chagrined, equipped de Gama; Magellan was with de Gama on his trip trip to India. Drake followed Magellan's course and Cook followed up Drake. It must be seen how one exploit depended upon a prior one.

CHAPTER VI

BALBOA

BALBOA was sized up by one of the historians as "Clever, crafty, courageous, forward in enterprise, good humored and handsome, with some nobility of nature." While the matter is fresh, note the deposing of Enciso and the driving of him from the country, for we shall hear from him again, but poor, unlucky and half crazed Nicuesa will give no tidings. The earth or sea must hold the secret for the final retribution in the great hereafter.

After Nicuesa's departure, Balboa brought proceedings against Enciso, saying he had usurped a jurisdiction to which he had no valid claim, as he had received no authority from the king, only from Ojeda, who was already dead. This was the pretext for robbing Enciso of all his goods and throwing him in prison. Enciso had Balboa in chains at Hispanolia; Balboa has Enciso in chains at Darien. Balboa had reversed the order, and Enciso is as helpless as was Balboa on the ship. Balboa now has the force behind him and would free Enciso, on the promise to take the first ship for return to Castile in Spain, thus driving him from the new possessions. From the standpoint of self-interest this driving of Enciso would appear to almost anyone to be a very shortsighted act, as Enciso would lay in a complaint against Balboa at the court of Seville, which he did, and would be a powerful witness against Balboa should he ever come to trial for his usurpation. The king had the authority to have Balboa superceded at

any time. To counteract any story Enciso might tell, Balboa took the precaution to send on the same ship with Enciso, two of his own friends, Zumato and Valdeva, both officers. Valdeva was deputed to go to San Domingo and explain matters to Don Diego Columbus, son of Christopher, and also see and explain to treasurer Passamoto. But Zumato was to go on to Spain and there to offset the story that Enciso was sure to represent to the royal court. It seems that for his own protection Balboa would have held Enciso and thus have prolonged the culmination of the affair, hoping that death to one or the other, or the witnesses, or some other untoward circumstance would have prevented the storm from breaking out in Castile or Seville. Balboa's actions in this matter are unexplainable, but we will drop for the time, this feature of the incident The ship on which Enciso sailed was not to call at San Domingo, so Valdeva had to wait until a ship called which was bound for there, and one did not call until after the Comogra capture, which will be related presently.

The historian says "Valdeva did not go empty-handed." The presumption is that he took to the Treasurer, Passamote at San Domingo, a fine lot of gold forced from the Indians. The deputy with Enciso had hardly gotten out of sight of land when some Indian spies came to the settlement. They related to Balboa the possibility of finding much gold at Cueva, some thirty or forty leagues from Darien. This story is so ridiculous that we will give the exact wording given in the report to the chronicler. Let us first say that the chief in the country indicated, was named "Cemaco" the one who had been attacked by Ojeda

when he alone lived to tell the story. The object of these spies must have been either to get these Spaniards killed off or to get Cemaco's tribe routed and destroyed by the Spaniards.

"Balboa sent Pizarro with six companions to discover this province. The Indians under their chief, Cemaco, who had been dispossessed by the Spaniards, set upon these seven men. But as the Indians of Darien did not use poison arrows, they were not able to overpower even this small detachment, though they wounded them severely. While on the contrary, even the handful of Spaniards continued to kill many of the natives before returning to Vasco Nunez." Seven men against a whole band of Indians armed with bows and arrows! A pretty big story! Not one Spaniard killed, presumably because the Indians did not use poisoned arrows. Pray what difference would it make in close combat whether the arrows were poisoned or not, as the poison would not take effect until the skirmish was over. No doubt the reader will question the truthfulness of the story and consider somewhat like this: When the Spaniards saw that the Indians greatly out numbered them, they took to their heels and so badly outstepped the Indians that they received only a few well directed arrows.

The chronicler continues as follows: "Vasco Nunez Balboa then accompanied by an hundred men, made an incursion into these regions; but in the meantime the Indians had sought refuge in flight, a measure which had there been a Fabius to drive them, would have been adopted as their surest mode of warfare. Balboa, with the one hundred men, returned empty

handed, as he said 'The Indians had taken to flight.' " A few writers hint that Balboa was discouraged because he found no gold or provisions to steal or Indians to kill or capture. We are told that there were a few of Nicuesa's men left at Nombre de Dios. While these men were on their way to Darien where they expected to find Nicuesa, they were met by two naked men whose bodies were painted as were the Indians. These were the men who about, two years before, had absconded from Nicuesa's ship to evade punishment for some misdemeanor, and had been living with the Indian Chief Cereta of the Cueva tribe. They came on with Nicuesa's men to Darien. Balboa had been fearing that Nicuesa might land somewhere along the coast and yet give him trouble. But as these men had heard nothing of the affair of Nicuesa's departure, Balboa was very much pleased, as were also the painted men. One of these was Juan Alonzo, who no doubt knew the Indian situation well, as he had been for some time the Captain for Chief Cereta in his wars with Chief Poncha.

This villain, Alonzo, made a proposition to Balboa, that if Balboa would come to Cereta's town, he would "deliver the Chief, bound, to him." We are astonished that Balboa would accept this wretched proposition, but he took one hundred men and went to Cereta's town as though he would like some food for his men. The old Chief said that he was short himself, as he had been warring Poncha and had not put in his regular crop, but as he had always given Christians food when they came that way, he would share with them now as heretofore. Alonzo had also assured Balboa that

there were great riches in the province. Now after being entertained by the old Chief, Alonzo told Balboa in Spanish, which Cereta could not speak, that he had best leave as though he were returning to Darien, then in the dead hour of night, he should make the attack, and "I will try and capture Cereta and bind him."

Balboa carried out this plan and Alonzo succeeded, during the attack to secure and bind the old Chief. The whole thing was carried out successfully and the chief and his family were handed over to Balboa and taken to Darien, and the Indian town was devastated. The good Bishop of Chiapa, who made the record of this capture does not fail to introduce a few words of moral discourse in which he naturally likens Juan Alonzo to Judas Iscariot, but speaks not one word against Balboa for whom the treachery was committed and who played a conspicuous part. Balboa was very good and kind to the chief and his family, however, and succeeded in converting him to the faith, and as a reward Cereta gave his daughter to Balboa for a wife. The bishop adds that "Balboa loved her much." The chief made a very acceptable proposition to Balboa: that he would assist in raising crops if Balboa would assist him in making war against his old enemy, Poncha. We are told that this was the manner of getting a foot-hold in every new country that has to contend with the aborigines.

When old Poncha learned of the coalition of Balboa and Cereta's forces, he left his ancestral home and went far off. Forty leagues to the south of Darien lived an Indian tribe whose chief was Comogre, a very good friend of Cereta, who had once taken refuge in Como-

gre's court from his own chief and now brought his people in bond of friendship with Cereta and Balboa. The crafty Balboa resolved immediately to go and make a visit to Comogre. He was now courting the favor of these tribes for future power. He heard much of the great waters that lay just over the mountains and knew that he must have friends or he could not reach the big waters.

But up to this time, his first desire was to get gold and as he had heard that there was so much gold in the south of Darien that the Indians did not prize it highly. He had also found that it was easier to get it by trade and by strategy, than by war. So Balboa resolved to take a few of his men and visit his new ally. On reaching the home of Comogre, the Spaniards were very much surprised to find so many evidences of luxury in sight, at an Indian's home; nothing like they found here had been seen since leaving Europe. The chief had a most wonderful residence. The building was one hundred and fifty feet long and eighty feet wide, with beautiful walls and ceilings, showing fine workmanship. There were many rooms for storage and supplies for many people, cellars and graneries ample, apartments for many purposes. Also there were rooms for the bodies of ancesters preserved as the Egyptian mummies. Where all this knowledge came from, was, and still is, in our present age, an unsolved mystery.

Comogre gave the visitors the best welcome that talent could devise, and best of all, four thousand pesos of gold and seventy slaves, which had been captured in war. In all these expeditions, especially in the south, they expected to find large quantities of

gold. They always had a Vedor with them who represented the king, whose business it was to take the fifth of all treasure obtained for the king, the balance to be divided among the officers and men. If the gold could be divided piece by piece, this was done, and if it could not be so divided, then it was held for the regular melting day. On this occasion, after the king's fifth had been taken by the Vedor, the men got into a quarrel over the division, very much like a group of little children when their marbles get mixed. Peter Martyr the historian calls it a "babbling." The eldest of Comogre's sons was watching the contentions and becoming tired of what he thought was foolishness, stepped forward and dashed the scales to the floor, as the stuff did not seem to him to be worth such contention, no more than would be a lot of colored beads. No wonder he was disgusted and addressed the contenders as follows: "What is this childish stuff you are quarreling about? Is it for such a little thing that you haggle? That you make such trouble of little gold which was never melt down from beautiful natural lump? If white man so much like gold, to get it, I show you place to find all every man can take on back and take away, but you must take thousand men to fight Indians away, who have great king and much men. Tubanama, big man, know how fight. Six suns, big mountains, bad country."

Then he explained that this country laid beyond those high Sierras where the people had large vessels of gold from which they ate and drank. Of course the speech was not put in writing and no doubt the above is an attempt to give the substance of what the young

Indian said. Juan Alonzo and the other Spaniard who had lived with Cereta a couple of years did the interpreting on this occasion. These two men filled a very desirable niche in this company. Cereta must have spoken very nearly the same language that Comogre's people spoke, or at least the two tribes must have understood each other. The interpreters enabled Balboa to have a long talk with Comogr and his son about the country at large, and something about the great waters across the mountains. The young Indian estimated that it would require one thousand men to subdue the possessors of that vast amount of gold spoken of in his speech. It is said that this was the first real authentic information that any white man had ever obtained concerning the great south sea and the gold in Peru.

Pizarro, the second in command, was in the expedition. But while we hear nothing from him, no doubt he was doing some tall thinking how he would like to get his hands on a few drinking cups and stewpans, and try the experiment of testing his strength under a load of the precious "stuff." It is possible that the young Indian had from some cause or another, a deep-seated prejudice against this Peruvian tribe and would like to help the Christians make battle with them. He intimated as much by saying that he "could take his father's forces at any time and join with a sufficient army to make a foray in earnest." "A prudent youth" this young man is called by Peter Martyr, the only historian with the expedition. But there was no hope in the near future that there would be a sufficient number of Spaniards in the Darien country to do as

large a job as this would require. If everything had gone smoothly with Balboa, he and Pizarro would have been together when the Peruvians were overpowered and mauraded.

The Spaniards talked Christianity to Comogre, converted him, or at least baptized him and his family, giving him the distinctive "Don," calling him "Don Carlos." We wonder if the old Indian felt the importance that an ignorant, pompous white man would under similar conditions and circumstances? Finally after a few days had been spent in royal style, the company returned to Darien after bidding farewell to Don Carlos and his interesting home and family, who no doubt, were very reluctant to have them go. But not one half as reluctant as the Spaniards were to leave the lavish apartments and return to their crude furnishings at Darien. However all were happy over having made the acquaintance of the new and hospitable allies and friends.

When Balboa and his company arrived at Darien, they found Valdeva ready to carry the gold to Hispanolia, and a ship had come with fresh supplies. But with the two to three hundred men to feed, the new supplies did not last long, and then as usual hunger was gnawing at their stomachs. That vast amount of gold they carried from Comogr's town, necessitated Valdeva making the voyage to take the gold to Hispanolia—about fifteen thousand pesos—and sailing out in high spirits, was never heard of again. In the future, when the ocean goes dry, this treasure trove may gladden some weary heart, or someone with a witch hazel may locate the precious "stuff" which is

so valuable in society and so worthless when there is no opportunity for exchange. Valdeva might have fallen into the hands of the Indians after a shipwreck, or gone down with the ship.

While Balboa was generally quite merciful to the Indians, it was said, still he put them to the torture until they would reveal the whereabouts of their caches of gold. Our own observations are that after examining what is said by the various historians, that Balboa was only good to the Indians from ulterior motives and not from humanitarian impulses. When he could gain a material point, in the execution of his plans by favoring the Indians, then he was exceedingly gracious to them. Columbus at one time showed a letter from Balboa, wherein he said: I have hanged thirty caciques (chiefs) and must hang as many as I take, for the Spaniards being few, have no other way until I shall be supplied with more men." Now just what did he mean by this? Well, he must have meant just what the Kaiser, in the World War, meant by bombing the hospital ships, namely to create a reign of terror that would horrify his enemies into submission.

"Hearing of a temple full of gold in a country of a chief called Dababe, toward the south of the gulf of Arabia, the Spaniards made an incursion into the chief's domain and the Indians offering little resistance Balboa's men devastated the country." We are not told whether the Spaniards found the temple of gold, but most likely this tale was told by some Indian who wished to draw the mauraders from his own tribe's domain. When Balboa, with his men, returned from

the temple hunt for gold, he went over to the other side of the Gulf to join Colmenares who had gone into the Abenamache's country during Balboa's absence. Hear the report of this foray: "The chief and his men made as stout a resistence as they could with their two-handed wooden swords, called "Macanas" and rushed fiercely on the Spaniards, but to little purpose. After the battle, a common soldier whom Abenamache had wounded, came up to him, and with one blow of his sword struck the chief's arm off."

From this, Balboa went out on a foray, leaving Colmenares behind. He discovered Indians living in trees, on account of the marshy condition of the ground. The trees in which the Indians lived were described by the men as being immense in size. "They were trees of such bigness, that seven or eight men, hand in hand, were scarcely able to surround them." Allowing each man five feet for the stretch at the least calculation the trees were thirty-five or forty feet in circumference and twelve or fifteen in diameter, which equals our giant redwoods along the Roosevelt highway, or the firs in the northwest. This was in the territory of Abebeyba, whose tribe were a peaceful people. They appeared to be quite compatible and reasonably contented. Their wine was stored in "cellars under ground, for fear of the wine being spoiled by the motion of the trees shaken by the wind." This is an unreasonable story indeed. If the ground was marshy, how could those ignorant people, unskilled in the arts of construction, maintain cellars in marshy ground. And again, such massive trees swaying from the wind or from any other cause would agitate the ground for

a considerable depth, nor would it sustain such trees. In relating this story, it is evident that an extravagance of language has been resorted to. When Abibeyba was commanded to come down and meet Balboa he is said to have refused, but when the Spaniards began to cut the tree, he concluded to obey. Imagine if you please, how long it would have taken those soldiers to have fallen that tree, seven or eight feet through, with their battle axes or tomahawks. No doubt the chief did not want the tree barked so that it would die, so came down. He positively denied having any gold, but volunteered to tell them where they could find plenty of the "stuff." As for himself, he did not care for it. He also promised to get out and hunt for some for Balboa's men. Abibeyba, in his hunt for gold for his new-found friends, came upon the chief Abibeyba who had lost his arm by one of Balboa's soldiers. Bewailing their hard fate, they went to the town of the chief Abraibe, a neighboring chief whose country had just been raided by Colmenares. There the three commiserated their situation and griefs. They said "How long shall we bear with the cruelty of these strangers? Is it not better to die than to endure what they inflict upon us?" The conclusion of the matter, was to send five or six hundred men against Colmenares, but to their misfortune, the enemy, before the battle, had obtained a large reinforcement and was enabled to easily resist the attack and capture many of the Indians braves who were sent to Balboa at Darien, to labor in the fields.

Hurtado, heretofore mentioned a few times in this story, was a special friend of Balboa and also of Colum-

bus. He had been for several years, at different times, with Columbus, then with Balboa. It appears that Hurtado was with Colmenares, in the last battle with these chiefs, just mentioned. Hurtado was given command of thirty Spaniards, and Balboa with Colmenares, returned to Darien with the rest of the men.

Hurtado made a foray on some Indians and captured more slaves, sending them in a boat in charge of a number of his men to be delivered to Darien. On their way, they were attacked by four large canoes loaded with Indians. All the Spaniards except two were drowned.

The chronicler failed to say whether the captives were drowned, but most likely they were rescued by the attackers.

The two Spanish survivors took refuge in some driftwood and thus escaped the notice of the Indians. They reached the shore later, then returned to Hurtado.

He and his few men were terror stricken on receiving the news of this horrible disaster. All advised immediate return to Darien. Hurtado was very greatly alarmed after reaching Darien and learning that fully five chief's had formed an alliance for the destruction of Darien and every white man among them. This coalition might have succeeded had it not been for a fool Indian who had a sister in Darien who was a consort of Balboa. This Indian warned his sister to be ready to flee at the first alarm, and save herself. The girl must have thought more of Balboa than she did of her own people, as she immediately told Balboa.

The Indian brother was put to the torture until he

divulged the whole plan, which enabled Balboa to "nip the plan in the bud" before the chiefs could assemble their forces. The Indians had garnered sufficient supplies for a protracted siege. Balboa carefully watched his opportunity and captured the entire quantity, as the brother, in fear of death, had furnished all the necessary information.

The chiefs in the coalition were Cemaco, the dispossed of Darien, Abenamache, Dabaybe, Abibeyba, Abraibe and possibly others.

"To be forewarned is to be forearmed" is an old adage which is true in all ages and in all contentions, and was at this time. It was learned that Cemaco had learned the whole course to be carried out. This simple old Indian said there were spies among Balboa's Indian laborers who had long since shadowed him when in the field, to kill him; but as he always went on horseback, with a lance in his hand, they had no opportunity to seize him.

Balboa was still holding the divulger of the plan and compelled him to lead Colmenares at the head of seventy men to Tirichi, where the forces under the chiefs were assembling their enterprise. He himself went with seventy more men to hunt for Cemaco but he failed to find him, the wily old fox. However, Colmenares found Tirichi, the point for assembling the men and the equipment. Without warning, he fell hard upon the place, demolished it, captured the chiefs, put them to death, and terrified the country into submission.

Balboa now resolved to dispatch a messenger to the King of Spain to inform him of the speech of Comogr's

son in reference to the gold in Peru. Balboa himself wanted to go, to have a heart to heart talk with the King; but his advisers, knowing the many questionable transactions into which the King would inquire, and that Enciso, the able lawyer and enemy of Balboa, had already laid accusations against Balboa, felt that it would be very inadvisable for him to appear before the King with no witnesses to justify the expediency of his many actions, and advised him correctly.

Later circumstances proved that if he had gone, he would not have returned.

Since there was such clamor for Balboa to send others and not to go himself, Colmenares and Quicedo were finally chosen as the messengers who were deputed in regular form and furnished with funds for the important mission.

Their means of transportation were of the most miserable description. One of the old brigantines, which had been condemned for six months as unfit for service, was all that they could spare from Darien. The ship carpenter had this old tub drawn ashore and cobbled up as well as he was able in such a crude place, as all the tackle for the requirements had to be manufactured from bark stripped from the saplings thereabout. Only a scanty store of provisions could be spared. Not a soul on board had ever learned to navigate a ship. This statement is so unreasonable that we will give the exact wordings of the historian, who says, "With not a soul on board who knew anything about navigation, in this crazy vessel, the deputies from Darien left the colony in October, 1512."

We will state that this story is certainly over-stressed

as to the inability of the navigators. No man on the earth or the sea, under such conditions, could have navigated that "crazy" old brigantine, or even a first class ship, across the Atlantic, or any other ocean, and arrived safely at the home port. As has been said heretofore, the Spanish historians have accepted and recorded many badly exaggerated stories. Peter Martyr, in his statements, we think, honestly tried to be accurate and careful, but many times he accepted stories that appear to be unreasonable. He says that he frequently entertained these deputies from Darien, and he gives an accurate account of their appearance as follows: "They were as yellow as people in the jaundice and are swollen." But he does not say where he entertained them.

The wonder was that they still resembled intelligent human beings. When we remember what these men had gone through during years of labor and starvation in a savage country in all kinds of exposure, and a three months voyage in that "crazy old brigantine," on their way to Spain, certainly no person would expect a cosmetic appearance in their faces when they appeared at Seville. When Jo Meek arrived in Washington clad in his "buckskin suit," he must have appeared like a polished gentleman in comparison with Quicedo and Colmenares when they arrived at Seville to report to the royal court. After they had passed through the hands of the tonsorial artists and the haberdashers, dined and sufficiently wined, they were ready for audience with the authorities, and to tell their stories and hear suggestions. These deputies told one story that stirred the acquisitive into

a wonderfully attentive audience. They told of a place south of Darien where they had heard that Indians fished for gold with various implements for scooping gold from the bottom, as men would get fish with pole, line and hook.

So much gold had been sent to Spain from the West Indies that the Spaniards would bite at any kind of a hook if it were only baited with gold.

The Deputies were not the only persons from the colony who were at the court of Spain. Encisco was there making complaints against Balboa, and being a foxy lawyer, he knew how to frame up a complaint that would be listened to and considered on its merits. All who have read this narrative must agree that Encisco had good grounds for a loud complaint against Balboa for the manner in which he had been treated by Balboa.

The complaint of Enciso was not the only charge in regard to maltreatment by Balboa. The story of Nicuesa, the polished and educated gentleman who left Seville a favorite wherever he went, was now familiar to the public. The friends of Nicuesa could not know the great transformation that had taken place in the man, under the trials of semi-starvation among a group of terrible, rough and murderous men who feared not even God Himself. All they could see with the mind's eye was Nicuesa as a popular fellow and a devoted and true friend, whom misfortune had laid low. This man, Balboa, had kicked him out of his office and usurped his authority, and then set him adrift to perish in the sea with seventeen friends, or

to meet a more horrible death at the hands of savages, if not cannibals.

As it appeared that Balboa had been the principal beneficiary of Nicuesa's misfortune, he would have to bear the major part of the blame. The King ordered that Balboa be proceeded against criminally in the civil courts. Accordingly, Balboa was charged with all the expenses which Encisco had, by such means, been put to. Balboa had a pretext on which he had sequestered all of Encisco's goods and equipment, which was a serious charge against Balboa.

Suppose, now, we go back for a time and learn what is going on in the little colony at Darien. The accounts tell us that Balboa was not having an easy time. It appeared that a spirit of faction had broken out in the colony. No authority was really pleasing to all. Right of authority was disputed. Balboa was looked upon as an usurper by a goodly number, and his second in charge, his friend Hurtado, was also very, very much despised, and obnoxious to a large proportion of the colony. Finally, the enemies of Balboa and Hurtado planned to arrest them both and throw them into prison and elevate Bachiller Corral and Alonzo Perez to their positions. But the eagle eye and alert ear of Balboa caught the secret and anticipated their movements. He immediately had Perez arrested and put in chains. This brought both parties out, arranged and lined up in battle array.

While waiting for someone to fire the first shot, one of their number, with more sense than passion, stepped out and said something like this:

"Gentlemen, take a little counsel from one not in

authority. It matters not which party exterminates the other, for the Indians will come and destroy the other, whichever succeeds here, and nothing is gained, and we will all be dead or made slaves to the savages. Drop your differences until we can settle the matters from Seville." This counsel prevailed. The disputes were settled for the time by Balboa releasing Bachiller Perez. The belligerent spirit calmed down, But the inward ill feeling was not in the least abated. Within a few days, there very nearly occurred another outbreak. The cause, this time, as recorded, was "The division of gold among these rude men who composed the remnants of the forces of Ojeda and Nicuesa who were now under the unauthorized command of Balboa." They accused their commander of unfairness in the division, and as there was a sum of ten thousand Castellanos just about to be divided, this was the cause; or they made it the pretext of their intention to seize upon Balboa.

The way in which he surmounted the difficulty may serve to show the ability of Balboa to command. It would appear that Balboa looked at the matter in this light: That he was the bone of contention, and if he were out of it, then the men would suspect some one else of unfairness, and the trouble would take on another hue, and the men would fail to adjust the division among themselves and finally come to him for advice. So Balboa slipped off to the woods the next morning to hunt for game. The result of the attempted division was just what Balboa expected. Perez and Corral could not settle the contention. Nearly the whole company became angered and called Balboa back to

full power, and put Bartholomew Perez and Bachiller Corral in prison, where they will have plenty of time to draft accusations. Balboa was especially venomous toward a Bachiller of any profession. At one time he wrote to the King as follows: "One thing I supplicate your highness, for it is much to your service, and that is, that you would give orders, under great penalties, that no Bachiller of law or of anything else, except medicine, should be allowed to come to these parts of the terra-firma, for no Bachiller comes here who is not a devil and who does not lead the life of a devil, and not only are bad themselves, but they also make and contrive a thousand lawsuits and iniquities. This regulation would be greatly for your Highness' service for the land is new."

About this time there arrived a couple of ships at Darien with one hundred and fifty men, also laden with supplies which had been sent from Hispanolia, and also a very great surprise for Balboa, an appointment as Captain General by the treasurer Passamonte. Some doubted that the treasurer had the authority to make such an appointment. This was another technicality for the Bachillers to quibble about, but to Balboa, it was settling his authority without question, and to celebrate his joy, he set all of his prisoners free.

Either on this ship or on some other, there came a piece of news which was not so pleasing as the appointment, and this just about nullified the joy of the appointment. This bad news was his own disfavor at the royal court, caused by the complaint of the Bachiller Enciso, which very greatly troubles Balboa. This news filled him with apprehension, as it came from

Zumado who went to Spain with Enciso when he was banished from the provinces. This was the first that Balboa had heard from Zumado since he sailed with Enciso.

The reader will remember that Zumado was deputed to go to Spain, and if possible, offset the story that Enciso might report to the royal court. Nothing official came, but his friend Zumado communicated the matter to Balboa orally. Evidently, Balboa could now see what lesser lights saw when Enciso was banished. Even great minds get wrong views at times. This was Balboa's twin blunder with that of Nicuesa, and for these he will lose his head. No looking back now will help matters. The displeasure of a king can be healed only by some great future action or by catastrophy, or some unexpected or wonderfully important circumstance that will in some way overbalance the cause of the king's displeasure.

Balboa was not an educated man, but he had a wonderful will power and a lively imagination when he was stirred to the depths. Never had he shown fear, but now it was looking him square in the face. Something must be done. Columbus was taken to the court in chains. The next ship will bring the summons from the Royal Court, one month, two months, may be three months, possibly more, but time will not wash away the stain. It will take more than time, alone.

Most men would have done something desperate, committed suicide, gone to the Indians, formed a great federation, or tried to reach a foreign country; but Balboa had been in many tight and perilous positions

and escaped triumphantly. However, there can be no doubt that Balboa spent a few nights on a sleepless pillow, in deep thought. Was he not Captain General over all the country about Darien? Did not the last ship from Hispanolia bring him a stock of provisions to last for months ahead? Did he not have 150 new, fresh and active men? He meanwhile mused, no doubt, like this:

"Have I not plenty of time yet to win the King's pleasure? Yes, and I will. I can almost hear the roar of that ocean that the Indians tell about. Yes, I shall go and discover that great water and report to the King and hold a place in the estimation of the King along with the greatest of earth. I shall make friends with the strongest tribes of the Indians and thereby secure their assistance in the great enterprise and come off victorious. Comogre has told me of the big waters just over the Sierras, and he will lead me to the great view and lead me to the Indians who have abundance of gold. It would be folly to wait for more reinforcements or more supplies. I can do the job with what I now have, and I will carry out this scheme at once."

Accordingly, early in September, 1513, Balboa was ready for the greatest land expedition yet undertaken in the West Indies. He started out with the one object uppermost in his mind, to discover the great waters beyond the towering Sierras, and thereby retrieve his lost prestige with the King of Spain. There could be no mistake about the great waters, as all the Indians in that region had knowledge of the fact. He, too, would settle the question, as to whether or not the Darien country, which he was on, really is a part

of India or a land not before known to the white man.

Balboa was accompanied by 190 men, well armed and equipped with ammunition and a large number of dogs, which were of more avail than men. He also took along a sufficient number of Indian slaves to carry the burdens. This plan would leave the men in condition for immediate action in case of attack by the Indians. We are told by the historian, Arthur Helps, that "Balboa went by sea to the Territory of his father-in-law, King Cereta, by whom he was well received, and accompanied by whose Indians, he moved into the Territory of the Indian chief, Poncha, the enemy of both Cereta and Comogre. Poncha took flight when he learned of Balboa's movements, but as Balboa was now on an expedition of discovery, he did not wish to be delayed by skirmishes with Indians. He sent tokens of friendship to Poncha, and thereby allayed his fears. Poncha, in return, sent presents and gold to Balboa. Balboa then presented the messengers from Poncha with such things as hatchets, mirrors and hawks' bills. In return, he obtained guides and porters from Poncha's people for the journey to what our Northwestern Indians would call the "Skookum Chuck," the big water.

Balboa began his climb over the Sierras, led by Poncha's Indians. When they came to the territory of the chief, Quarequa, Balboa was surprised to see these Indians ready to resist his entrance into their country. The king, taking the lead, opened the attack, but their weak weapons were no match against powder and ball. The Indians stampeded, believing the Spaniards were using thunder and lightning against

them, a fair presumption. The poor ignorant Indians were terribly slaughtered. One who was present said "the rout was a bloody one."

"Another," says Helps, who gained his information from one who was present said that "the scene reminded him of the shambles."

We are told that the king and his principal men were slain to the number of six hundred. The records tell us that these Indians had a beautiful language, every sound of which could be given by the Latin alphabet. This language was very similar to the language spoken by the natives of Hispanolia.

We are told, also, that Balboa found a race of black negroes not a great distance south of Quarequa's territory, who must have come from Africa at some remote period, to be accounted for, most likely, by shipwreck.

The reader will notice that we are yet on the east slope of South America, but soon will reach the summit. A few of Balboa's men were sick, and others had entirely tired out and were left at Quarequa's town. Then, with guides from the captured Indians, Balboa proceeded to climb the most terrible heights to the summit of the tall Sierras, until, on the 25th of September, 1513, he came near to the top of the mountain, from whence, he was told, he could see the endless waters of the big pond. Balboa had been told by Poncha's men that they could reach the point in six "suns." Possibly that distance, forty leagues, might have been covered in six days by expert mountain climbers, who had the route well in mind, but, for a

company of two hundred or more inexperienced men, as many of them were, it was out of the question.

Balboa was in a rush to save his own head from the headman's axe, and no doubt he pushed on as fast as possible under the conditions he had to meet. On the 25th day of September, 1513, as stated above, Balboa stood on a pinnacle of the Sierras of South America and feasted his eyes on the endless view of rolling waves, of the largest ocean on the face of the globe. He had won! The ire of Ferdinand would be abated, somewhat, at least, in the case of the man who was to take the place second only to the great Columbus, in the annals of the world's discoverers. Could any sovereign dare execute a man with such a record? Balboa thought not, but "the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft aglee," and so it was with Balboa.

A little before Balboa reached the summit, Quarequa's men notified him that he was nearing the summit from whence he could see the waters. Balboa wished to be alone, so he called a halt, and alone he approached the point where he saw the water, as stated. Then, with his hand, he beckoned to his company to come and behold the scene. When they came, they each and all "knelt down and poured forth their thanks to God." Balboa then addressed them in the following words:

"You see, gentlemen and children of mine, how our desires are being accomplished, and the end of our labors. Of what ought to be certain; for as it has turned out to be true what Comogre's son told of this sea, who never thought to see it, so I hold for certain that what he told us of there being incomparable

treasures in it, will be fulfilled. God and his blessed Mother, who have assisted us, so that we should arrive and behold this sea, will favor us that we may enjoy all that there is in it."

How much of this hope came out of his heart for the preservation of his own neck, from the wrath of his sovereign, will be left to the reader's conjecture. Self-interest is a wonderful incentive, even when men appear to be so philanthropic.

Before leaving the summit, all joined, we are told, in singing the "*Te Deum Laudamus.*" A list was drawn by the Notary, of those who were present at the discovery, which was on St. Martin's Day.

The historian, Arthur Helps, descants as follows on this event:

"Every great and original action has a prospective greatness, not alone from the thoughts of men who achieve it, but from the various aspects and high thoughts which the same actions will continue to present and call up in the minds of others to the end, it may be, of all time. And so a remarkable event may go on acquiring more and more significance."

In this case, our knowledge of the Pacific which Vasco Nunez Balboa then beheld, occupying more than one-half of the earth's surface, is a source of thought which in our minds brightens up and gives an awe to this first gaze of a white man upon those mighty waters. To Balboa, the scene might not, at that moment, have suggested much more than it would have to a mere conquerer. Indeed, Peter Martyr likens Vasco Nunez Balboa to Hannibal, showing Italy to his soldiers, and as we might show the Columbia,

as the great victory of Robert Gray's discovery, 279 years later. But remember that Balboa was not so much inclined to glory over the benefits to the world, as no doubt he was thinking of the effect the great feat would have on his relations with the King, for he had been driven by the fates to redeem himself in some spectacular manner or suffer for his crimes as a common criminal. Even, then, he was led to the Pacific after the knowledge had been given to hundreds of men who *might* have been led to the South Sea.

With the discovery by Columbus, the case was as different as day is from night. Columbus sailed out into the unknown with little encouragement from any source, and made, it is true, only a re-discovery of America after all previous knowledge had been forgotten by the civilized world. Columbus was penniless and without sympathizers, and he struggled for years before he succeeded in arousing interest in the proposition sufficiently strong to be of assistance to him. Then, his men were, after a few days, harrassing him to turn back and save them from the terrors of the unknown waters that might destroy them at any moment. His men were almost in a state of mutiny long before land was sighted.

True, Columbus had read the Norsemen's reports about the Spitz(?) voyages, but he knew absolutely nothing of a country south of Greenland and Iceland. He was like a blind man hunting for a pin that might have been lost.

Balboa was being led to an ocean by those who had many times seen its rolling waves, and no doubt had

canoed on its placid bays. The route was well known by paths which Indians had traveled for ages.

Columbus was discovering; Balboa was pioneering. Columbus was for glory; Balboa was trying to circumvent justice—looking for an antidote for his crimes.

But let us follow him to the water and study his character further. After concluding his speech, Balboa took formal possession of the vast sea which he had viewed, in the name of the sovereigns of Spain, the king and queen of Seville and Castile. His declaration included not only the waters but all the gulfs and bays and shores and everything in the sea and on the land, the trees, the vegetation and the minerals and all the lands whose shores are washed by the waters of the South Sea, and rivers that feed the mighty ocean.

Descending the mountain, Balboa must go through the territory of the chief, Chiapes. These Indians, having a large population and many warriors, were disposed to intercept the course of the Spaniards. Balboa sent messengers to Chief Chiapes with overtures of peace, which were accepted by the Indians. The old chief came to the camp, bringing four hundred pesos of gold and was graciously received by the Spanish commander, who in turn presented Chiapes with the usual showy trifles which were given to the accompanying Indians. Here, again, Nunez shows the gracious and friendly side of his nature, simply because it would not be politic for him to be delayed by a war. This act had a very conciliating effect on the Indians, so the chief and his warriors returned to their habitations, sagacious old fox. He knew how to be a gentleman when necessary.

Balboa halted in the town of Chiapes and sent a deputation consisting of Francisco Pizarro and Alonzo Martin and others, probably, led by Indians by the shortest way to the beach. Alonzo Martin, it is said, "was the first to discover the shortest way." He descended to the shore and found two canoes lying high and dry in a place where he could see no sea. At this he was astonished, but the sea soon making its appearance, he gradually advanced to the canoes and entered one of them, begging his companions, who had come up, to bear witness that he was first to float upon the sea. These men carried the information back to the camp of Balboa and his men. Balboa, accompanied by eighty men, then followed the guides to the water. He waded out in the sea until the water came to his thighs, with his sword on and his shield in his hand, then called on the bystanders to witness how he touched with his person and took possession of this sea for the King of Castile, and declared that he would defend the possession of it against all comers.

After this, Balboa used his best diplomacy in making friends; first, by conquering, then negotiating.

The next Indian chief, named Coquera, brought him a present of gold.

One could better understand this trip by having a good map or globe to consult when reading this story, and no doubt the reader will not greedily accept all the statements made by the early historians. They got most of their information, or much of it, from hearsay, or from persons who were along with these expeditions. We have no fault to find with the chroniclers, for they

were generally credulous men. The fault, if any, is with those who gave the information to them.

Just how long Balboa remained in these parts is not exactly stated. One writer says about three months. It would appear that this discovery would have justified extra haste in making the discovery known to the world.

From a purely personal standpoint, one would have expected haste in the publication of a matter which was expected to placate the King's displeasure against Balboa. Again, Balboa was expected soon to get reinforcements for the foray into Peru. But he says no more about Peru or about returning to his base at Darien; unexplainable ommissions for which Balboa suffered very greatly, even if these delays were not contributory to his death.

History says that Chiapes (Indian chief) was more attached to Balboa than any of the other chiefs were, and when Balboa expressed his great desire to navigate the Gulf, San Maguel (so named by Balboa), Chiapes advised him not to try the experiment of navigating the gulf at that time of the year. But Balboa was persistent, and the chief said that he would accompany him and risk all the danger with him. This he did, and they came very near to losing their lives. Balboa had told Chiapes that God would protect them, and that he wanted to increase the faith of Chiapes in the Christain's God. The effect was marvelous. From that view alone, the hazardous voyage on the gulf was a decided success.

One chief in that region was not yet subdued. This chief was Tumaco. All the other chiefs had by this

time been working on Tumaco, telling him how gracious the Christians were to their friends and how terrible they were to their enemies; but this old chief, was not yet convinced. So Balboa organized his troops, but had a hard time to get to Tumaco's town. When Balboa called for the old chief to come out, he sent his son instead. The son was kindly received, went back and reported. It was then that the old chief found courage to come out in person and was kindly received by Balboa. The chief gave ornaments and gold, and 240 large pearls. Many of the pearls had been injured by the use of fire, which the Indians used in opening the oysters. The Spaniards taught the Indians how to open the oysters without fire, as the fire was so liable to discolor the pearls. One historian says the Spaniards were more diligent in teaching the Indians how to open oysters than they were in teaching them religion.

The Spaniards, especially in practice, had no use for the words, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." The Indians were urged to fish for more pearls. This chief spoke of the gold in Peru, and the historian, Helps, says there is something to countenance this in the report of the Spanish commander's letter to the King, for he says, "I had learned wonderful secrets of the riches of the land which for the present I wish to keep to myself."

Both chiefs, Chiapes and Tumaco spoke to Balboa of an island in the Gulf of Maguel, ruled over by a powerful king who made incursions into their territories, and who possessed great pearls. Balboa threatened awful things against this chief and was anxious

to go to the island, but his confederate chiefs persuaded him not to go to the island on account of the danger of the navigation at that season of the year. The Spanish commander, after giving some attention to pearl-fishing, resolved to return home to Darien, but to travel a different route from that which he had taken in coming.

As Balboa prepared to take leave of the South Sea country, the friendly chiefs came to bid him farewell, and it is recorded that old Chiapes, his special friend, even shed tears.

The course Balboa chose for his return trip to Darien would suggest that at the time there were two, if not more, well known roads or trails to the Pacific from the Darien country. However, they both appeared to converge at the town of Chief Comogre. There was a sort of federation or confederation of tribes living in the country on the return route. These separate communities, all had one law and a sort of a general government with a supreme court. The penalty for lying was death. In this court, we learn, when the case came before the judge for final adjudication, there were no witnesses called. No oath being required, the plaintiff told his story; then the defendant was heard, and stated his grounds for defense. The judges, after serious deliberation, announced their decision, and from that there was no appeal.

As Balboa passed through this country, many of the people, with their governors and officers, gathered at a central point on the route to see the Christians and to give them the hand of welcome. When the welcome ceremonies were over, the chiefs present made to

Balboa a general complaint, that one of their chiefs, in the federation, was a tyrant, fierce and brutal, who did not respect their laws. This chief's name was Pacra. Pacra had committed various iniquities against his neighbors, and they wanted Balboa to hear the case and render judgment. Balboa was quick to see his opportunity to win the graces of all the confederation save possibly one chief. This was his opportunity. Of course he consented. Pacra was brought to him. Both parties were heard at length. Pacra was condemned and sentenced to death. A popular verdict. Balboa judged that Parca should be given to the Spanish dogs. Here he had the opportunity to show to the Indians the awfulness of the punishment inflicted on those who fell victims to Spanish wrath.

Pacra was taken to the out side and given to the Spanish dogs, which in a very short time, literally devoured him in the presence of all the concourse of people.

These Indians did not delay execution of the judgments of the court. Retribution followed judgment in quick succession.

Please allow me to quote the language of a soldier who was later stationed here and witnessed the funeral services and the burial of the old chief, Pocorosa. It is as follows.:

"They lived in such justice in the law of nature without ceremony or adoration. Their chiefs in person, like our kings of yore, judged causes, and their way of judging was to summon the parties before them, in the cause, who had to give their own account of the case. Then the chiefs, without hearing witnesses,

holding it for certain the parties would speak the truth (for he who lied to the Lord immediately died for it) gave judgement, and there was the end of it." These chiefs drew no salaries but only personal services."

"When they were actually sowing or building or fishing or carrying on war, all their vassals had to assist them and they in return gave their vassals food and drink to make merry with."

These people believed in witchcraft, and there were witches and wizards among them. They could give no rational account of their origin, but they had some knowledge of a deluge and of a man who escaped in a canoe with his wife and children and peopled the earth, and in the heavens there is a Lord who causes the rain and all other things that come down from above. On first hearing of Balboa's approaching toward their country, the old Pocorosa took flight, but returned and was won over by Balboa's kindness and suavity of manners. What a wonderful man was this Vasco Nunez de Balboa. He could embrace an enemy, with a dagger in his pocket, watching the opportune time to plunge it into the heart of his enemy.

Read on, dear reader, and you will find that Balboa met with an awful retribution. This Captain General and commander of the expedition learned that he would pass through Tubanama's country. This old Tubanama was the ancient enemy of Comogre of whom we have spoken. Tubanama was the chief whom Comogre very much dreaded. You will remember that Comogre's son spoke of the Powerful Chief, on Balboa's first visit to the country. Vasco de

Balboa was not the man to fear any Indian. The King of Spain, only, did he fear, and well he might.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, it is said, by a force march with the best of his men, came upon Tubanama's town, suddenly, by night, and captured him and his family. Like Comogre, this chief had great buildings which, while probably not as gaudy and pretentious as Comogre's, were still large and commodious. Adjoining the royal abode was a hall, 170 feet long and fifty feet wide, which served as a barracks for his Indian levies when he was planning war on some weaker tribe. "The town was a very scattered one, built so on purpose to avoid the danger of hurricanes." This scattered condition prevented the success of the plan of attack, as the Spaniards had expected to apprehend the Indians before they could take to flight.

A number of Pocorosa's people had accompanied Balboa's train to help take vengeance on Tubanama and destroy his people. Tubanama was said to be another Pacra, and his neighbors rejoiced in his fall. While many of his people escaped, he was captured. Balboa made a great show of strength and severity before Tubanama. He ordered the fallen chief brought before him as if for death, saying he would throw him into the river, into which in former days, he had heard, this old chief had threatened to throw the Spaniards, if they should come that way.

Tubanama, with a great show of tears, begged for his life. He declared that all these charges were lies and nothing more, simply because they had failed to subdue him in order to rule over him. And he declared that he had never done harm to a Spaniard but had

fed them when they came that way. As for what some of his minor chiefs had said, that had been said when they were drunk on Spanish wine. Coming up to Balboa and laying his hand on the commander's sword he said that he who had any brains would not contend against the "Macana" which with one blow can cleave a man in two. Then promised to bring the commander much gold if not imprisoned. Another piece of diplomacy. He simply wished to gain the old chief's subservience for the future. It is plain that as he did not destroy the old chief's people, he wished to use the old chief to hold the sub-chiefs in subjection hereafter. Otherwise, these sub-chiefs might harrass the Darien country, so it were better to let the old man use his influence to hold them back. Tubanama gathered up about six thousand pesos of gold wrought into trinkets for women. Balboa had won a bloodless victory over a proud and powerful foe, and practically frightened his people into submission.

Tubanama denied that the gold came from his country, but the wily commander, trying the ground and finding it auriferous, resolved to found two settlements, one in Pocorosa's and one in Tubanama's country. Before leaving the old chief's territory, the Captain General ordered the old man to gather gold and send to him. Such orders were general throughout the Indies, given to all subjugated tribes as an annual tribute, the amount according to the per capita of the tribe. A disregard of this order generally resulted in the enslaving or destroying of them entirely, as a tribe. Finally the climate or the terrific strain under which the great commander found himself, began to tell on his consti-

tution. He fell a victim to that dreaded fever produced by the swamps below Darien. He had to be carried on a litter from Comogre's to Darien. When in Comogre's home, surrounded with so much luxury, the general must have felt very much at home. But now the old Chief had gone to the better land, where the Clerigo had assured him that his battles would all be over.

When the general entered Poncha's territory, he was met by messengers from Darien who brought the news that two well laden ships with supplies had anchored in the port of Darien, from Hispanolia. These ships had been sent by the keeper of the treasures. On receiving this news, the Captain General took a few picked men and a relay for litter carriers, and started for Darien in great haste, evidently fearing bad news from the royal court in Seville.

On the 29th day of January, 1514, he reached Darien, having been gone five months and two days. He was one month going, and it is fair to presume, about one returning, which leaves him three months in or about the Gulf of San Maguel next to the South Sea. This unnecessary stay lost him his head, as the reader will see later. Balboa could see glory but not near him.

His people at Darien received him with vociferous exultation. Balboa lost no further time in sending the news, "such signal news to the King of Spain." Balboa made a very elaborate and extended report of his discovery of the "grand, magnificent South Sea." The elaborate letter was compared by the historian, Peter Martyr, to the celebrated letter that came to the

Roman senate from Tiberias, containing thanks to God that he had escaped from such great danger and labors.

The chronicler says that both the letter and the presents were entrusted to a man named Arbolanche, who departed from Darien about the beginning of March, 1514. In order to please the King, the discoverer reported that he had not lost one man on the expedition of discovery. When we read the manner of his attack and the weapons he skillfully used and compare them with the weapons of the Indians, we, of the great Northwest, can see but little in that part of his report to be proud of, although the King, in his royal palace, might think the report showed a wonderful achievement—twenty great battles with ferocious savages and not a man lost. Wonderful, not a man lost in winning twenty great victories! Wonderful, this man is bringing glory to the Spanish kingdom! But the letter reached the King too late. Too late. Balboa had wasted three months of precious time about San Maguel, looking for ornamental pearls, while the King was hearing the charges from Enciso in the royal court with no defense. It is barely possible that Quicedo and Colmenares had brought such wonderful news about the discoveries in the terra-firma in the Spanish government that the King had already superceded Balboa by the appointment of a successor, in the person of one Pedrarias. Balboa's highly colored report only increased the importance of the appointment and greatly augmented the next expedition.

All Spain was in a state of excitement. Pedarias was on the way already and could not be recalled. The

civilians were rejoicing, crying, "Long live Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a second Columbus!" Spain the leader of the world! We'll all go to the Darien country and fish for gold and pearls." Spain was beside herself with public acclamation for Vasco Nunez de Balboa. Applications were plentiful for the appointment of governor of Darien, under the Captain General, Balboa. But the good Bishop of Burgos favored Pedrarias de Avilla, so Pedrarias had been the lucky one, and was, as said above, well on the way. Had the messenger, Arbolanche, only arrived in time, it is possible that the appointment of Pedrarias would not have been made, especially at this time. This man Pedrarias was said to be an elderly man of rank and high connections, and had served in the African War; but some have held that he, in wisdom, was little superior to Bobadilla, who put Columbus in chains. In his feats in the tournaments, he had acquired the name of "Justador," the jouster. Mr. Arthur Helps in his "Conquest of Spanish America," says:

"There is one thing to be said for the appointment of men of that age and station, which, if had occurred to the King, Ferdinand, would have been very likely to have had great weight with him. It is that they (we presume he means old men) are sure to be faithful to their sovereign. It is too late for them to form great independent schemes of their own; but they lack the lissomness of mind as well as of body as is necessary in dealing with such entirely new circumstances as those the Spanish captains in the new world had to encounter."

We conjecture that Pedrarias was a suspicious, fiery,

arbitrary old man. *"Furor Domini"* was a name given him by the monks in after days, just as Attila enjoyed and merited the awful title of "Scourge of God." The reader will remember that Comogre's son, said that it would require one thousand men to subjugate the Peruvians, who had the enormous quantity of gold, the expression of which so fired up Balboa, Pizarro and the leaders at Comogre's capital.

The authorities at Castile, to make sure enough, gave Pedrarias not less than twelve hundred men. About the time Pedrarias was getting ready to start, there was a disbanding of troops which had been raised for an expedition which had been abandoned. Hundreds of these discharged soldiers were clamoring to join this expedition to fish for pearls and gold without bait. These ex-soldiers could hardly be kept off the ships. As it was, the number finally was agumented to fifteen hundred men.

When Pedrarias arrived at Seville, more than two thousand young men were lined up, all anxious to join his force, and a large number of old men were ready to go and bear their own expenses. But the capacity of the ships was necessarily limited to the cargo and complement of men, so these who wished to go as passengers had to be refused. Among those chosen were nobles, and a bishop appointed to a new colony, whose name was Jaun de Quevedo. Four principal officers, also, accompanied the governor; a treasurer, a factor, a contador and a vedor. The vedor was none other than the celebrated historian, Gonsalvo Hernandez Oviedo. Pedrarias chose for his Alcalda Mayor, Gas-

par de Espinoza. Bachiller Enciso, whom Balboa had ostracised, was appointed Alguazil Mayor.

At this juncture, the reader can surely see an awful storm brewing against the Captain General of Darien. The instructions given to Pedrarias are so peculiar and curious that they ought to be inserted almost in full, that modern people may take a survey of the style and temperaments of the ruling classes, as well as the men in the field, and consider how elaborate and painstaking were these instructions prepared and how little attention was paid to them, when an ocean rolled between the writer and the instructed. Someone has said, "Distance lends enchantment." That may be so, but one thing is certain; distance lends a woeful lack of observance or aid in the day of slow communication from one province to another, but let us have the instructions. If you wish to see the original, go to the capital of Spain, and no doubt you can see the precious document:

"In order that our Lord may be served in the sea and his holy name be made known and the inhabitants of the aforesaid land may be converted to our sacred Catholic Faith, that they may be instructed in it and put in the way of salvation and that they may not be lost, such number of souls hitherto have perished and in order this design may have the effect which we desire, we have sent to beg our very Holy Father that He would provide prelates who may by ecclesiastic persons, learned and of good example to go and preach to those nations; and for the security of these persons, it has been necessary to provide a certain number of people who should go and settle in the said land, in order

that, by the doctrine of these ecclesiastics and by the means of conversion of the other Christians (that is by the communication between the Christians and the Indians) the nations may more quietly, when converted to our Holy Faith, and remain in it, until they may be more capable of receiving Christian doctrine than it appears they now are."

To the hurried reader, knowing the conditions at Darien, the above sounds like mere pretense, as no instructions were ever carried out in any province in the new world. The actors there, for the violation of every general and particular instruction, had never been punished for such violation, when a sufficient amount of gold had accompanied a complaint.

That the Indians were to be converted to Christianity appears to be the burden of the instructions, and the policy of the Spanish government, but how was it to be done? By education? By moral suasion? By kind treatment? By example? No, an hundred times No. This conversion was being accomplished by force, by tyranny, by murder, by torture, by oppression and maltreatment of every conceivable, heartless, inhuman, infernal, brutish means that could be conceived. We must admit that the instructions were God-like in every respect. But the question is, did the powers intend or expect that the instructions would be carried out. We shall see what became of them, how they were observed. Remember, we are in this work studying the characters of the persons principally engaged in the field, but such study often leads to analyzation of the characters of those who furnish the sinews of action, and their motives. But, while there is nothing in these

instructions to indicate aught but the purest of motives, still, since no complaint was made about non-observance and the higher-ups participated in the profits, it is fair to presume that the instructions were only a cloak to shield from a possible storm of protest which might arise in the future. The question must arise, did Pedrarias think these instructions were to be literally carried out, or did he know they were but a pretense. The King really appeared to be in earnest, while Pedrarias attentively listened to the solemn words. The King appeared to have a fatherly feeling for the poor ignorant Indians, and Pedrarias appeared to share that feeling.

The King said, "It appears to me that the soundest opinion in reference to making war with the Indians will be that of the bishops and the clerigo, as being free from passion and motives of self-interest. First, the Indians may be given as personal servants, in which case the Indians, in their favor, are to be carefully observed and, far from being diminished in their humane tendency, are to be made more considerate."

Here the King, speaking of the Indians fleeing to the mountains to escape labors that they have been forced to perform, said they will find it more easy to do so in Terra-firma. The next plan would be (which is the one the King preferred) that the Spaniards should make use of the Indians by an agreement with them if there be such lords in these parts, that they will supply a part of the men under them, to serve the Spaniards, a third or fourth or fifth of the people, to be changed every few months. If neither of these plans should be carried into effect, the Indians might be left to live

as they were living, but in that case they were to pay tribute. This was on the theory that Spain owned all the land in the Indies and the Terra-firma (South America) and that the Indians were only renters on the land which their fathers had owned since no man knows when. In America, we treated the Indians very badly but pretended to pay them something for their lands, but never did we exact tribute.

With respect to making war on the Indians, the Spanish were to carefully notify and inform them of the danger to which they would be exposed should war be declared, namely, those taken alive made slaves.

Some would claim that the King condemned slavery, but here he sanctions it, and how easy it is to make an excuse for war, or incite war on some flimsy pretext. We had hoped better things from Ferdinand. The dead Isabella had not sanctioned the institution of slavery. That one clause nullified all his fine sympathetic words in the instructions.

Further, the King says, "On the part of the King, Don Ferdinand and Donna Jauana, his daughter, Queen of Castile and Leon, subduers of barbarous peoples, and nations, we their servants notify and make known to you as best we can that the Lord God, living and eternal, created the heavens and the earth and one man and one woman, of whom you and we and all were and are descendants and all who come after us. But on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some should go one way and some another, and they should be divided into kingdoms and provinces, for in one

alone they could not be sustained. Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that we should obey him, and that he should be the head of the whole human race, wherever men should live under whatever law, sect or belief they should be and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction. And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as the most fitting to rule the world from; but also, he permitted him to have his seat in another part of the world and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say Admirable great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived at that time obeyed that St. Peter and took him for Lord, king and superior of the universe; so also they have regarded the others who have been elected to the Pontificate, and so it has been continued even till now, and will continue to the end of the world. One of the pontiffs, who succeeded St.Peter as lord of the world in the dignity and seat which I have mentioned, made donation of these isles and the terra-firma to the aforesaid king and queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed on the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish. So their highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and lands of terra-firma by virtue of this donation; and some islands, and indeed almost all to whom this has been notified, have received and served their highnesses as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And

also they received and obeyed the priests whom their highnesses sent to preach to them and teach them our Holy faith; and all these of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and so their highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them and also commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too, are held and obligated to do the same. Wherefore as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the church as the ruler and superior of the whole world and the high priest called Pope and in his name the king and queen, Dona Juana, our lords, in his place, as superiors, and lords, and kings of these islands and this terra-firma by virtue of the said donation and that you consent and give place to these religious fathers, who should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

"If you do so you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in love and charity, and shall leave you, your wives and your children and your lands free without servitude that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compel you to turn Christians, unless you, yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of these islands have done; and besides this, their highnesses award you many privileges and exemptions and benefits. But if you do not this, and maliciously make

delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God we will powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners, that we can, and shall you not yield to the yoke and obedience of the church and their highnesses; we shall take you and your wives, and your children and make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their highnesses may command and we shall take away your goods and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can as to vassals who do not obey and refuse to receive their lord and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not of their highnesses, ours, nor these cavaliers who came with us. And that we have said this to you, and made this requisition, and we request the Notary, here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition."

The historian, Arthur Helps, says on page 361, Vol.I:

"If there ever was a document which it was worth while to give in full in such a narrative as the present, it is this Requisition, drawn up by the learned Doctor .Palacios Rubios. The folly that spreads through it, when contrasted with the sagacity which pervades the instructions and the private letters of the king and council, is an illustration of how long foolish conceits linger in the halls of learning and among professions, even when they are beginning to be banished from the world at large. I must confess that the comicality of the document has often cheered me in the midst of tedious research or endless details of small battles. The

logic, the history, even the grammatical construction, are all, as it seems to me, alike in error. Stupendous assumptions are the staple of the document, and the very terms, "Church," "priviliges," "vassals," "exemptions," are such as require a knowledge of Christianity and of the peculiar civilization of Europe for any one to understand. Then when it is imagined how little these difficulties would be smoothed by translation, we may fancy what ideas the reading of the document, even if it was read, conveyed to a number of Indians when sitting in a circle, and listening to European voices for the first time."

No doubt the learned Doctor Palacios Rubios felt that this was a very profound document, but it only shows how simple and childlike a great man can be when he is trying to apply the principles of learning to a poor, simple child of nature, who has not the slightest conception of a discourse on any subject, especially when given in a foreign language.

Finally, all was ready for sailing to the new world. The learned Doctor Rubios (bishop) and Bachiller Enciso were traveling companions of Pedrarias, who, with fifteen hundred young men eager for combat, and a goodly number of old men for advice, with the latest and most efficient instruments of war, and dogs enough to track down, tear down and devour dozens of Indians at the least provocation; armed with that dove of peace, terror to opposition—the Requisition, Pedrarias sailed out with the Spanish flag floating at the mast, more like a gay party on a picnic excursion.

They had not proceeded far before their progress was halted by a terrific storm which was not precon-

sidered in the preparations. The storm damaged the ships and the supplies to such an extent that it was necessary to return to the port, San Lucar, for repairs to his fifteen ships.

It was April 12, 1514, when Pedrarias made his first start, but quite a delay was caused by the storm before he was ready for the sea. No historian seems to have stated the length of the delay at San Lucar, refitting the ships for a new start. The government expense must have been enormous; fifteen hundred men (some historians say nineteen), thoroughly equipped, and supplies sufficient for a long siege of forays, horses and dogs, servants and helpers, all intent on converting, capturing or killing the Indians on their own premises where they had lived and enjoyed life for ages before Columbus opened the doors which led to their oppression.

We fail to find the exact time of the second start, but the time of his arrival on the other side shows that the climate knows little about winter, at any time of the year, so it matters not what time an expedition starts, the climate will be endurable on arrival.

Oviedo, the historian, was along, and we are indebted to him for the story of the first rash act of Pedrarias, the commander. One of his attendants, (probably a page) was guilty of some small infraction of the rules. Without any pretense of trial or opportunity for defense, Pedrarias had the poor fellow brought before the assembled host and summarily hanged, and most likely cast overboard. So we consider that the commander was the first violater of the Requisition. This act was simply for the purpose of showing his absolute

plenary authority over the life and death of his subordinates, and as a warning to all that the element of mercy need not be expected from an absolute ruler.

One historian observes that "Great means seldom come to great hands, or, perhaps the world would advance too rapidly, while on the contrary, the most important and successful experiments, are often made, like those of renowned inventions in mechanics and chemestry, with a few shabby and ill-fitting materials."

When the fleet neared the western country, it did not go directly to Darien, as Pedrarias wished, probably, to show his skill in converting or his prowess in killing Indians, before he had taken advice from a lot of braggart westerners; then perhaps he might be able to teach them the proper way to proceed in capturing, converting, ór killing Indians. So he steered toward the port of Santa Martha, on the main land. Colmenares, who knew something of the Indian language of these parts, was asked to find an interpreter for the commander. With the interpreter, Pedrarias undertook to confer with the Indians. But the Indians were ignorant of any word the interpreters could speak. They discharged a few arrows, presumably to show that they were not friendly to the white man. Pedrarias took this demonstration to be an act of hostility. The very next day, a force of forty men, apparently, for discovery, were landed. It is said that the command was given to a nephew of Pedrarias.

As this was the first occasion the new governor had to use the requisition, and the historian Oviedo was himself employed with the party, it is worth while to take his record of the circumstance. Oviedo says:

"The governor desired me to take the Requisition, and gave it to me from his own hand, as if I understood the Indians, or as if we should find anyone there who would make them understand it, even if the Indians were willing to listen."

How ridiculous, silly and hypocritical even to imagine that this long theological disertation could be anything more than a silly pretense to obey a divine injunction, and what injunction was this Requisition expected to fulfill, even though these ignorant wretches could understand it. But we shall see. Something like three hundred men were disembarked to give the reading a show of respectable backing.

However, the clerigo did not leave the ship, neither did the governor, Pedrarias; nor did the Bishop Palacios Rubios leave the ship to see that the sacred screed, child of his own brain, should be understood by the Indians before hostilities should begin. We are told that "The Spaniards commenced their entry in a disorderly manner, and the Indians, from time to time made headway against their pursuers."

The historian himself, with a small party, found his company much pressed and lost one of his men by a poisoned arrow. At last, the Spaniards succeeded in gaining the heights and captured some Indian women. The battle must have been stoutly contested, more so than was expected, for on the ensuing morning, the governor joined his nephew with one thousand men in arms. A singular scene ensued. They came to a deserted pueblo, in one of the houses of which the principal Spanish officers took, for the moment, their quarters; namely, the Governor, his lieutenant Juan

de Ayoro, the contador, the factor, and the alcalda mayor Oviedo, who probably felt that this fray had been started in a very questionable manner, and that he was the man entrusted with the Requisition and might be compromised by such mode of proceedings, took occasion to say, in the presence of all of them:

"My lords, it appears that these Indians will not listen to the theology of this Requisition and that you have no one who can make them understand it, would your honor be pleased to keep it until we have one of these Indians in a cage in order that he may learn it at his leisure, and my lord Bishop explain it to him? I gave the requisition to him and he took it with much laughter, both on his part, and all who heard me."

Is there such a piece of puerile duplicity recorded anywhere else in history? We doubt it. Let the reader remember that we are studying the characters of the men who were responsible for the discovery of the Americas, and our studies reach from the lowest to the highest: kings, bishops, governors, admirals, mayors, vedors, and the common soldiers, all were of about the same stamp, although the higher ones were a little more adroit in their devilish treatment of the Indians, and took some pains to camouflage their intent. Remember also that we of the great Northwest are, in a sense, beneficiaries of the horrible conduct of those murderous and unconscionable Spaniards. They were entirely devoid of any humane feelings, whatever, toward the Indians. They wanted only hard work from their slaves or hard cash. They only fed them that they could do more work or bring a better price on the block. Balboa was not led to discover

the South Sea from any spirit of progress or for the advancement of knowledge or for the betterment of world conditions, but simply for the purpose of saving his neck. However, that was a great achievement that put the western world in touch with the riches of the great populations of the whole world.

"Shortly after, a skirmish ensued between the Spaniards and the Indians, a cannon was fired, and the dogs were let loose. The Indians fled, and the Spaniards returned to the ships."

The reader will again look over the list of dignitaries who witnessed that bloodless battle, that the good bishop who wrote the Requisition was not with the army on this occasion. But Oviedo gave the bishop an account of the talk at the pueblo, and he says that when he told what he had said about putting an "Indian in a cage until the bishop could explain the theology to him, and he could learn and understand it, "the great and dignified Bishop of Burgos, Doctor Palacios Rubios, really and heartily laughed.

The king's solemn injunction was entirely ignored, and why not, for it was the simplest farce ever seen; childish, impossible; and the king, bishop and all knew what would be the result. But gold was the great desideratum and to obtain it war was the deception, and strategy must be resorted to. Suppose the king would not sanction this violation of his solemn (?) orders, who would dare to reveal the infraction to him? Who would dare to do such a thing? The bishop would be exposed, and the church dishonored, so we must leave all with a clear conscience.

Before the men re-embarked for Darien, the gov-

ernor conned the day's work in his mind, or the Bachiller, Enciso, made the suggestion that as the Requisition had not been read to these naked savages, possibly the foray was not legal anyway; so the governor discharged some of the captives to give his conscience a little ease, and let the king be appeased by taking a remnant of the captives for his own fifth share.

As the governor had not shared in the profits, his guilt might be easily salved—great reasoning by great men.

Upon entering the harbor of Darien, a messenger was sent to inform Balboa of the arrival of Pedrarias, his successor. No signs of splendor greeted the governor's eyes. The Admiral and Captain General sent the new governor a greeting and informed him that the colony was ready to receive him with a respectful welcome. There were left in the colony but 450 men, hardened to labors, rough and tough, fearless and adventurous. The men were much puzzled as to how they should receive the new governor. They were so infatuated with Vasco Nunes de Balboa that at first they thought of resisting the debarcation of Pedrarias.

Herrera, the contemporary historian, said that "these four hundred and fifty men could easily have vanquished or mastered the fifteen hundred with Pedrarias." But the Captain General counseled peace, and his counsel was accepted by the men, and it was agreed, says the historian, that they should go without arms and in their peaceful dress as magistrates, and not as soldiers."

The colonists, therefore, one of them, certainly, with

heavy heart, but all apparently with joyfulness, came out to meet their countrymen, singing the *Te Deum.*

Pedrarias landed and billeted his men. This was June 30, 1514, being two and one-half months from first starting. Pedrarias, before having a friendly visit with the former acting governor, asking him for any information, or explanation of any kind, summoned Balboa into his presence. He gave him a few seemingly kind words of appreciation of the services he had performed, for which he was esteemed at the royal court. Then, no doubt with an imperious manner, Pedrarias requested Balboa to make out a detailed report, in exactness, of all his doings, and a full account of his new discoveries of land and waters and of the people he had found on the land. Balboa courteously answered and promised to prepare immediately and send to the king forthwith a full and detailed report of all his doings, which he did.

This report was full and complete and was placed on file in the government archives. It is said that this report was made in two days. It described the rivers, fissures and mountains where he had found gold, the chiefs of whom he had made allies, of whom there were more than twenty, and told of his journey to the South Sea and to the rich Isle of Pearls. He may have given the population of Darien. But we do not find mention of that feature in the reports detailed in the document.

The new governor next called for the Residentia of Balboa. As we understand the term, residentia means a ritual of one's standing before the law in his person, such an examination as one must pass for a passport.

The main point was to judge Balboa as to his personal conduct toward Enciso and Nicuesa. In these matters he was judged to pay several thousand castellanos and was put in confinement for a time of several months but afterwards on account of his invaluable services he was released.

Pedrarias wished to make settlements at Pocorosa, Comogra and Poncha. These places had been recommended by Balboa for settlements.

Before he had completed these preparations, many of his men were attacked by a strange malady or contagion and had to be taken to the bunks. Darien was a very unfortunate selection for a colony, especially for newcomers from across the sea.

Then, again, a scarcity of provisions began to develop, that scarcity which was a perennial visitor in this land. The newcomers suffered not only from the malady but from malnutrition also. When the supplies were taken from the ships it was found that the awful storm which had sent them back for repairs had spoiled the flour and the greater part of their supplies.

There were now two thousand people to feed daily, and no Indians near from whom supplies could be obtained. Those fifteen hundred young men who had never missed a meal in their lives now began to clamor. They were now quite as noisy, probably, as they were when waving farewell to the friends on sailing out from the home port, but not quite so jubilant. Men clad in silks and brocades actually starved and perished from hunger and might be seen, says one, feeding like cattle on herbage. One man of importance, while walking in the street, cried that he was dying from

hunger, and in sight of the whole company fell dead.

This lack of food stopped all talk of starting a settlement anywhere.

In the face of all this, Pedrarias sent out Juan de Ayoro with four hundred men, presumably to start a colony in the country of Comogre. This rash act must have been only a ruse, to get rid of the men, expecting them to hunt for Indians on whom they might forage, which they did. Thus, Ayoro attacked first one tribe then another, killing as many as necessary in order to rob the tribes everywhere. The tribes that Balboa had pledged to befriend were the first to be attacked because they did not suspect Ayoro until he had them in his grasp.

Ayoro was gone so long, living on the Indians as he went, that Pedrarias sent Hurtado with a goodly number of men and dogs to force his way wherever he went. Ayoro was entrusted with ships and caravels to carry his men up and down the coast, as he was to build a settlement at some place not too far from the shore. Hurtado found Ayoro, who had been robbing and murdering throughout a large section of country, had really started a settlement as a headquarters for his operations. He and his men had murdered and tortured worse than any other expedition ever had done in that part of the country, and robbed the Indians of a vast amount of gold.

When Ayoro met Hurtado and found that Pedrarias desired him to return to Darien and report, he immediately went to his ships and sailed away to unknown parts, and was never again heard from at Darien.

Hurtado then turned robber and duplicated Ayoro's

robberies except that he did not kill his captives, as Ayoro had done. When he had become surfeited with gold and captives, he returned to Darien with large amounts of gold in ornaments and trinkets, and more than one hundred Indian captives. The Requisition had not been read to these Indians, until they were trudging on their way to Darien, when Hurtado had it read along the road. Hurtado, knowing that he had violated the law for not reading the Requisition before capture, felt that he must resort to some scheme to placate the officers, and he was successful in the plan adopted, which was to give each officer one or more captives. Hurtado set out the king's fifth, then gave to the officers as follows: to the governor he gave six Indians, to the bishop, he gave six; to the treasurer, four; to the contador, four; the factor, four; to the mayor, four. The remainder were immediately sold at auction and branded. Most of them were carried over the sea and sold in the slave markets of the world.

The colony was now much smaller than when Pedrarias landed. Ayoro took four hundred with him and seven hundred had died at Darien of starvation, and many in the forays with the Indians.

Many forays followed, as all were anxious to try the robbing game. Even Enciso, the great stickler for the law, headed a foray against Indians, capturing them and bringing them into Darien, without having read the Requisition to them until he had them safely in chains. While the drivers were punching them along to make them travel faster, Enciso was reading the Requisition to them. He, too, started out an honest man, no doubt a conscientious man, but now he too

seems to be demoralized, as the most heartless murderer.

This expedition, under Pedrarias, turned out to be composed of the most heartless lot of men who ever crossed the Atlantic to the new possessions.

We will now discontinue a recital of these terrible forays, as we wish to follow Vasco Nunez de Balboa to his execution.

The report which was carried to the king by Quicedo and Colmenares had influenced the royal court sufficiently to somewhat overbalance the charges which had been preferred against Balboa, for his conduct against Enciso and Nicuesa. Along with this report of finding much new territory and good will and great quantities of gold, especially, the large amount of gold accompanying the report, the king and the people of both high and low degree were all very greatly enthused. Vasco Nunez de Balboa was now held in high esteem. Such was the feeling, it appeared, now, that Enciso could not press his suit.

But the king still thought it were best to appoint a new governor, which he did, in the person of Pedrarias. At the same time, the king instructed Pedrarias to assist Balboa in his work of discovery. Not long after the departure of Pedrarias for the new possessions, Arbolanche, the messenger with the news of the discovery on the great South Sea, arrived from Darien.

The king was so pleased with the messenger's report of the new discovery of the great ocean beyond the terra-firma, that he granted to Balboa a full pardon and the title of Adelantado. At the same time, the king undertook to create a spirit of comity between Pedra-

rias and Balboa. The good bishop also took a hand in this conciliation, as the bishop had observed the great abilities of Balboa. He thought that the governor ought to have the good will of Balboa instead of his ill will, as each appeared to be jealous of the other.

The way Balboa's report of the South Sea discovery was received and a full pardon was granted for the offences against Enciso and Nicuesa makes it plain that had Arbolanche arrived in time, Balboa would not have been superceded by anyone. But as matters now stood, Pedrarias and Balboa must be linked together in good or ill. A circumstance soon occurred, which came near thwarting the efforts of the bishop in conciliating the two men. It was this: a short time ago, Balboa, having not been given a command for some time, had become restless on account of inactivity and had in secret sent to Cuba one Andreas Garavito to negotiate for him men and provisions for an expedition on his own account. Balboa had arranged with Garavito to inform him, secretly, when nearing Darien with his company.

While the efforts of the bishop had, seemingly, taken well with the governor, this man Garavito sent a messenger to inform Balboa of his nearing Darien, with seventy men and the necessary provisions for the expedition, and was coming to the place himself under Balboa's command. This messenger fell into the hands of Pedrarias. "This caused the utmost offense to the jealous governor." He gave orders that Balboa be arrested and imprisoned. The good bishop hurried to the defense of Balboa, and succeeded in keeping him

out of prison, on certain conditions which were arranged between them.

We are left in ignorance of these conditions. Nothing more is said here about the expedition of Garavito. As far as we know, Balboa was again in the role of inactivity, for a time, and would have remained so had it not been for the bishop of Darien. A very close friendship had grown up between the bishop and Balboa. The bishop, we can see, had become very much attached to Balboa. He must have concluded that Balboa was a much stronger man than Pedrarias. However, the bishop succeeded in harmonizing these two men and proposed that the governor should give his daughter to Balboa to become his wife. (The bishop probably did not know that Balboa already had two beautiful Indian wives.)

This was, no doubt, a wise step to take. The governor assisted, and the betrothal was formally made, although the young lady was in Spain, says the historian, Arthur Helps. There is nothing to show that the father-in-law or the groom was in any hurry to have the nupitals solemnized. The two Indian wives would certainly be a hindrance in the way of such a proceeding.

These two great men, the bishop and the Governor of Darien, put their heads together and concluded that, since Balboa could be satisfied only when prosecuting some bold adventure, he should go to Acla, a seaport, down on the Isthmus, which had been partially constructed under the orders of Pedrarias and later abandoned on account of the troublesome Indians, and rebuild the port and make it a station for getting out

ship and brigantine timbers. These timbers were to be carried over the divide to the South Sea and then put together for further discoveries in the newly discovered waters.

Of all the enterprises undertaken by the Spanish discoverers, this proved to be the most gigantic, and the most expensive of all. Balboa, with a few men and Indians, first went to clearing land for planting out crops, for well he knew that it would take a long time to form timbers for brigantines and carry them over the mountains and construct the brigantines at the western waters. The latitude where this project was located is, so far, not given, which prevents the writer from giving the exact location, but it must have been near the present canal.

About the time Balboa was getting his farming land ready for cropping, Espinosa, who had been out on a foray, was returning to Darien with eighty thousand pesos of gold and two thousand captives (Indian slaves) and came past Acla.

Balboa followed them to Darien, well knowing that when the men reached Darien and each received his quota of the spoils, they would tire from the ennui of inaction, and there would be his chance to get helpers for accomplishing his great purpose. Balboa succeeded in bringing back two hundred of Espinosa's men as his father-in-law was favorable toward the project.

To be sure that we get this stated correctly, we will quote a paragraph:

"Vasco Nunez and his men began the terrible labor of their undertaking, which was to cut wood and fashion it at Acla, thence to convey it across the Sierras to

the river Valsa, and there to construct four brigantines, and thence to launch them on the South Sea and thus to pursue a grand career, abounding in riches and discovery."

Nothing we have found gives any information about constructing a road up and over the mountain and down to the river Valsa, but much is said about men and negroes who were sent to the top of the Sierras to build a rest station for the comfort of the Indians, who should carry the timbers, iron, and the cordage for the building of four brigantines. Balboa himself says that the distance was twelve leagues (thirty-six miles). Imagine the labor involved in such a gigantic and wearisome undertaking.

The work was begun; the timbers were "fashioned;" the station was built. The task of human transportation by the Indians was the most laborous. Before this transportation was completed, five hundred Indians had perished. As fast as the numbers were depleted, a company of Spaniards, for that purpose, were capturing and sending them as slaves to fill the ranks. By this means, the proper number was kept at the task until the transportation was completed, as to the timbers.

When the necessary timbers had all been placed in the river, awaiting a freshet to furnish water sufficient for floating them down to the Gulf of San Maguel, rain came down in such torrents that the river flooded all the low lands, driving the men into the trees, scattering the timbers in the gulf and covering them with sand.

But Balboa was not the man to have his plans thwarted by so small a thing as losing the work of one

thousand men for only three months. He immediately set to the labor of doing the work all over again, which in time, was accomplished, although provisions gave out, as the governor at Darien was running low on provisions. Balboa had a company out, whose business it was to forage on the Indians for supplies. This company, it appears, had for a time, been unsuccessful in their efforts and were without food for themselves. The whole community was suffering from lack of food. Balboa says he "was forced to live on such herbs and roots as the land produced."

Still the Adelantado did not give up the undertaking, but went to Acla, sent to the governor for assistance and received some fresh men and some supplies, just from Espinosa. After many vexatious delays and trials, one of the brigantines was ready for the water. Balboa immediately took the brigantine and started for the island of pearls, leaving a few men to finish the other brigantines, which he needed. He then proceeded down the coast as far as Puerta Pina. The natives that Balboa had left as friends on his discovery of the South Sea, were now hostile on account of the inhuman treatment through forays made against them by the foray division, which had been forcing food from them. But it did not take Balboa long to rout them and despoil as far as he went. Then he returned for the purpose of doing some work on Pearl Island. Many rumors, which we shall not elucidate, were circulating in the community, of things Balboa was supposed to have said against the governor, and the intention of Balboa to take the four brigantines and start on an expedition of discovery, and especially of a letter

sent to the king some time before, complaining against Pedrarias. This letter was probably written before the reconciliation. One of his most intimate friends, Garavito, the man who went to Hispanolia for men and supplies for the independent expedition which caused the trouble that the good bishop so nicely healed, had now turned traitor and either divulged the truth or told lies to the governor about what might be Balboa's intentions. Garavito had become enamored with Balboa's beautiful wife, Fulvia, the daughter of the old chief, Cereta. However, the letter was a verity and was on file with the Terra-firma documents in Seville. Here it is:

"Pedrarias is a man in whom reigns all the envy and covetousness in the world; he is wretched when he sees that there is friendship between any persons of worth; it delights him to hear fables and chatter from one to the other; he is a man who very lightly gives credit to evil counsels rather than those of good report; he is a person without any discretion and without any dexterity or talent for affairs of government."

Balboa certainly summed up Pedrarias' characteristics about correctly. While the letter may all be true, certainly it did not calm the governor's wrath, but rather greatly augmented it. The contents of this letter leaked out just at the time when Garavito was telling his secrets to Pedrarias. How the contents of this letter got out from Seville to Terra-firma was not plain to Balboa. When Garavito divulged the said intentions of Balboa, he was acting as a messenger from Balboa to find the truth of a rumor that the governor was to be superseded, but instead of getting

information for Balboa, he was giving information, false or true, against his superior. Balboa was patiently awaiting the return of Garavito, thinking that it mattered not to him whether or not his father-in-law should be superseded. His fortune was sure. If Pedrarias continued as governor, he would be his partner in the discovery, but should he be suspended, then he with or without his father-in-law, would go on a great tour of discovery that would startle the world and lead to greater discoveries. Surely, a very rosy picture.

This was, most likely, the happiest moment in the life of this intrepid discoverer. Very likely, his anticipations would have ripened into the richest fruit of all his accomplishments and he would have been hailed as the greatest man of the time, Columbus not excepted. But is it not true that often when one has just reached the climax of some great undertaking for the glory of himself, that some untoward circumstance arises which not only destroys the prospects for the future, but also besmirches an honorable life. The fruit is stung by a marauding insect just as the predictions for a full crop are being broadcasted.

Let us quote the historian of the time, as follows:

"When Vasco Nunez was uttering these confident words and continuing, it is said, in the same boastful strain, he was little aware that the sleepless furies were close behind him. Dramatically, at that moment or soon after, a messenger from the governor, Pedrarias, brought his treacherous letter to Vasco Nunez, who was then in the little island of Tortoises." It was singular that no one sent to Balboa a warning word, not

even his own messenger at Acla. But this may be accounted for by the dissimulation of the governor, who, perhaps, confided in no one his real intent. Pedrarias had gently requested Balboa to meet him at Acla. Gladly, with a buoyant heart, Balboa responded, supposing the governor wanted to talk over their future adventures. On the way he met Pizarro who had come with soldiers to arrest him. Feeling himself greatly honored, he exclaimed, "What is this, Francisco Pizarro, you were not wont to come out in this fashion to receive me!"

As he learned the mission of Pizarro, he was astonished, but offered no resistance or any attempt at flight. He was taken to Acla and imprisoned. The bachiller was instructed to proceed against him at once.

Pedrarias pretended, says the historian, to give Balboa an opportunity to defend himself, but afterwards showed his true wishes and broke out in virulant reproaches against his son-in-law, who protested that he was innocent of the meditated offense laid to his charge, asking why he should have come to Acla to meet Pedrarias if he had not been conscious of his innocence. It was not difficult to frame a good indictment against Vasco Nunez, introducing the imprisonment of Enciso, and the reported conversation of Vasco Nunez with his friends, partially overheard by the sentinel, which must have been the main ground of the charge.

There was also a letter from a friend in Darien which counseled flight, and I conjecture that the imprudent

sayings by Vasco Nunez in former times were remembered, if not formally brought up against him.

His friend, Arguello, had seen the storm brewing, for a year or more. This friend lived at Darien and heard many hints that were apparently floating on the surface, which a friend could readily weave into a bludgeon for the destruction of Balboa.

Peter Martyr, in a laconic way, wrote as follows:

"Pedrarias summoned Vasco Nunez from the south; Vasco obeys the command and is put in chains; Vasco denies the treason imputed to him. Witnesses are sought to prove the crimes which he had committed; his words from the beginning are collected, his offense is judged worthy of death, he is destroyed."

The prosecuting attorney who reported the case to Pedrarias stated the crimes of which Balboa was found guilty, meriting death but owing to his great services to his country, his life should be spared, but the governor was implacable.

"Since he has sinned, let him suffer for it," said Pedrarias.

His order was immediately carried into effect. "They shall cut off Vasco Nunez' head, the crier going ahead and saying in a loud voice, 'This is the justice which our Lord and King and Pedrarias, his lieutenant, in his name, commanded to be done to that man as a traitor and usurper of the lands, subject to the Royal crown.'"

Not only did Vasco Nunez de Balboa lose his head, but four of his immediate friends suffered the same fate, as conspirators. Less than forty-two years old, Balboa, the once great popular discoverer of the South Sea was beheaded to satisfy the ire of a jealous man.

Balboa was restless and uneasy when not employed. The world was a prison to him unless he was striving in some way to get gold or honors. He murdered Indians for gold; captured Indians for the slave market; was merciful when by that means he could increase his power or brighten his prospects. Only merciful when mercy suited his purposes. He was a very strong man and rose by his great personality. But his greed was ungovernable when opportunity offered. Honor was dashed to the ground when the bright light of gold lured from the distance.

Magellan will now pass into the light.

CHAPTER VII

FERNANDO MAGELLAN

FERNANDO MAGELLAN was born about 1480, to one of the oldest families in Portugal. This must have been a family of considerable importance, although lived they back in the mountains, as we find young Fernando first as a page in the court. No doubt, the boys in that day, as now, obtained their appointments through a "pull," as we of the present day would say, by some influential friend or relative. Fernando was about twenty years old when Vasco de Gama rounded the stormy cape and made his way to Calcutta. That voyage was concluded in 1500 or 1501, and the excitement seemed to know no bounds.

Columbus was not popular in Portugal as he was now a citizen of Spain, through necessity. The general excitement took a strong hold on young Magellan. He longed to get away from his monotonous round of court duties, running on errands for the court. He felt that there was more life on the "ocean wave" than "flunkeying for royalty." Fernando caught a vision of what was about to take place on the sea, as he saw many sailors hurrying about, fitting up for business in their line, and everyone walking on the street with a quickened step. No doubt the billboards displayed Vasco de Gama's picture and told of his exploits.

Spain had been exploiting the glory she obtained through Columbus for a time, but now Portugal had her turn with a hero of her own nationality, Vasco de Gama, a greater than Spain's adopted Columbus.

Fernando Magellan was just the right age to drink in the spirit of the time. How the blood in the veins of young Magellan must have raced through his system, and finally have driven him almost to desperation. Still he attended to his duties for a considerable time at the court; but when the Arabians began to dispute with the westerners against their loss of trade across the Suez which they had enjoyed for hundreds of years, young Magellan could not endure the strain longer. He became determined to try his fortunes out in the open.

In 1504 at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, he applied to his sovereign for a two years leave of absence to go to India as a volunteer with the great Armada of Don Francisco Alamedia. For the following ten years, young Magellan acted the part of a brave and efficient soldier in the interest of his king. Part of the time Fernando was under the most noted Admiral Albuqerque. He took part in many severely contested battles on both sea and land. He was engaged in hard fought battles which gave that wonderful spice land, the Island of Malacca, to his country, the key to East Portugal.

One of his friends took up his residence on one of the islands and wrote Magellan of the wonderful wealth all about him, "beyond my utmost dreams."

On one occasion, an incident occured, which in itself is a small matter, but as we are studying character, it is worth relating. One of two small Portugese vessels ran aground on the Indian coast during the darkness of the night, and could not be gotten off the reef. The other vessels were not large enough to carry all of the

men, and they were one hundred miles from shore. We are told that a great contention arose as to who should remain while the other ships should go to shore, discharge their men and return, if possible, in time to save those left. A very trying situation indeed. Finally, Magellan made the first break, by volunteering to be one who would remain, on the promise, under oath, of the officers to return as soon as possible with relief.

After landing the wrecked crew on a small islet, the officers sailed away but returned in time to save the men, with a vessel which the captain had purchased. After seven years of faithful service, Magellan found himself back in Lisbon with a world of experience and the knowledge obtained thereby, but no money.

Soon after his return to Lisbon, he met a noted astronomer and geographer, Ruy Falerio. During the recent years many changes had been made in the maps but no one had, by experience, proved that the world is globular in form. Falerio became greatly interested in the man who had given his life to the waves for seven consecutive years. A close friendship grew up between the two. One was full of knowledge, the other, full of experience and knowledge of men and how to manage them, which is very essential, especially when long voyages are attempted.

These two men were both sure in their minds that the earth was a globe and could be circumnavigated, either by water or by land and water. Time has proved that their conclusions were correct in many particulars, but as to the size of the globe, they were far from being correct. They evidently thought that the great South

Sea discovered by Balboa was of somewhat the same width as the Atlantic. They argued to the King of Portugal, to whom they first applied for funds, that the spice islands could be reached by sailing west as well as by sailing east, as Vasco de Gama did, and as all the ships were doing. They also argued that the distance west would be much less and the climate warmer. Another argument was, that as Portugal had refused Columbus and thereby lost the glory of that adventure, although she had somewhat recovered her prestige through de Gama, she now had the opportunity to surpass by far her old rival, Spain, in the proposed venture. Also, they showed to the King that these islands belonged to Portugal, as the Pope had divided the earth between Spain and Portugal, on the 130th degree of longitude, giving Portugal the east half and Spain the west half, leaving the spice islands to Portugal. In this last conclusion they were wrong, as the Pacific Ocean proved to be much wider than their calculations had estimated. They also argued that Portugal should have a route all her own, and especially as it would be nearer, an advantage over Spain that Portugal should appreciate.

But the king treated Falerio and Magellan as he had treated Columbus. He even made sport of them as dreamers and enthusiasts. Although they threatened to go to Spain, the king was immovable, obdurate, only dismissing them in an offensive manner as though they had been a couple of confidence men.

Magellan was highly offended at the demeanor of the king. He renounced his country and her flag, changed the spelling of his name from Portugese to Spanish, and who could blame him?

At this time, Charles the Fifth of Spain was but eighteen years old and was just taking the throne from the regency at the death of his guardian, Ximines. Charles was comely, genteel and a highly educated young man. When Magellan's proposition was made to him, he heard it attentively and carefully listened to the arguments, then heartilly submitted all to the nobles who accepted the proposition as feasible and rational.

Magellan then became naturalized under the Spanish laws and entered into a contract. The Portugese envoy at the court of Spain advised his soverign of Magellan's action. The Portugese king was furious, tore Magellan's coat of arms from his residence, stoned his nephew in the street, called Magellan a renegade, a traitor, and acted more like a man bereft of his reason. Still, Magellan had only acted on his rights, accorded the world over.

All lands so far discovered ran to a point southward, so Magellan argued that most likely America did the same. As far as the southern explorations had gone, the land was trending westward, and Magellan felt sure that the land did not extend to the pole. If it did not, he could sail around to the west.

The reader will remember that Magellan assured the king of Portugal that the spice lands were east of the 130th degree of longitude. Now he assured the nobles of Spain that the spice lands lay west of that line, which was the truth this time, but the stories do not speak well for the veracity of this bold navigator.

However, nothing succeeds like success. Oh well, we find few men, even of our day, who allow their

scruples to spoil an impressive argument. The Bishop of Burgo, Fonseca, had vehemently opposed Columbus. Now, wishing to redeem himself, he very heartily espoused the cause of Magellan and materially helped him with his proposal, as the bishop was at this time the most influential member of the council.

Magellan found some difficulty in assembling crews for the necessary ships. Quite a few of his men were Portugese who turned out to be his best and most loyal officers. The wonder is that Magellan ever succeeded, with the personnel of his crews. One writer says, "Magellan sent to every part of the world before he succeeded in obtaining the two hundred and eighty men."

We have not been able to divine the reason, as Columbus, less than thirty years before, had made such wonderful discoveries during his adventures. It must be that the great loss of life among the Indians in the islands, and of the Spanish in their many expeditions and explorations following the discoveries of Columbus, had dampened the ardor of sailors for explorations. Again, the project of Magellan was a gigantic scheme, far out-measuring anything ever proposed. Columbus only crossed the Atlantic, but now Magellan proposed to sail around the world, when the great majority of people still held that the world was flat. No man knew what such a proposition meant. The dogged tenacity of Magellan finally won out, and his five ships were ready, with heavy stocks of provisions and a full complement of men. Possibly the reader would wish to learn what would be considered necessary for such an expedition of unknown duration. We give the list as taken from Johnson's "Discoveries:"

"A wonderful variety: Biscuits, flour, beans, peas, lentils, olives, oil, anchovies, dried fish, dried pork, also seven cows, three pigs, hundreds of cheeses, vinegar, sugar, garlic, onions, rice, mustard, and capers."

These edibles, including the danties: raisins, figs, currants, almonds and honey, cost $25,000 in our money, at that time, when prices were only about one-fourth the price we are paying now, in 1929. There was an ample supply of munitions of war such as arquebuses, halberds, spears, lances, arrows, armor and culverins or long cannons to be used on shipboard, bombards which could be carried on boats, and modern howitzers. Then they carried a vast amount of goods stowed away in the holds. There were, also, articles for trade with the Indians, such as would please the eye and ear of the untutored people; mirrors, beads, "twenty thousand bells," and innumerable trinkets, simply for the amusement of the old as well as the children.

The ships were the "Trinidad" which was used as the flag ship for Magellan. She was not the largest but was thought to be in the best condition, the most seaworthy.

The largest, the "San Antonio," was commanded by Cartagena, the astronomer. Farelio was to command the San Antonio, but he began to show some symptoms of insanity, so the king appointed Cartagena to take his place. Possibly Magellan feared a clash in authority. The "Victoria" was commanded by Louis de Mendoza; the "Concepcion" by Gasper Quaseda; and the little "Santiago" by Juan Serro, who was a Portugese and the only captain who remained true and

loyal throughout the voyage. The largest, the San Antonio was an hundred ton ship, while the little Santiago, the smallest, was but seventy ton. No living man, today, after the route is well known, it is said, would dare to follow the course taken by Magellan, with such a fleet as he commanded. Life certainly was not so highly prized as now, or death not so greatly feared. Let the reader con this subject to suit himself. This outfit, was much more formidable than the three ships of Columbus, which were provided by Ferdinand and Isabella. The whole time that Magellan's preparations were progressing, Don Manuel (King of Portugal) was using every device in his power to prevent the success of the expedition. He had secret emissaries everywhere in Spain who were instructed to leave no stone uncovered that might help, in some way, to hinder the securing of a quota of experienced men for the expedition. Men in the employ of Portugal were continually on the docks, sowing discord and confusion among those who were solicited to join the voyage. Even the laborers on the various works were hampered by curious visitors who were sure that the whole project would meet with disaster.

Fabulous stories of sea-monsters were told, and the impossibility of the fleet's ever leaving the docks, or ever again being heard from after leaving should it even succeed in starting, or of being heard of after reaching the unknown sea.

Portugal did not have another man in all her realm who would dare to take such a venture, or her king would have fitted out such a man and gotten him ahead of Magellan, in order to recover the prestige that

he would lose in case of the success of Magellan's venture. Vasco de Gama had retrieved the lost prestige of Portugal after the success of Columbus, but now Spain is to forge ahead again, this time, as before, with a native of Portugal. How distressing! Portugal had the men and the talent, but these two requisites were vested in the common people and not in Royalty. So her men and talent must go abroad for opportunities for progress. Portugal's last resort, an effort to make the voyage of Magellan a failure, was to get some disloyal officers aboard the ships. In this, she succeeded in part with an atrocity which, after reaching the South Sea, came near destroying the expedition. We are only rehearsing the story to show the reader the characteristics of Magellan.

We will not recite the story as told by the ship's log, but simply tell enough to bring out in the open the character of Magellan. No man's real character can be fully brought out until he is placed in a position where he cannot be guided by precedent, but must rely upon his own native genius to extricate himself from many unpleasant situations.

The crews, according to the historians, were made up from many nationalities: Spaniards, Italians, French, Germans, Greeks, Portugese, Negroes and Malays, certainly a motley crew. This mixed condition might appear to some as a dangerous feature, but not so to the writer, for they could not so easily combine against the management, and to our mind, the expedition succeeded from this very reason.

The preparation now being all made, the last thing before boarding and manning the five little craft was

the final religious exercises. All repaired to the cathedral at Seville. "After saying high mass, the banner of Spain was placed in Magellan's hands, and he swore to defend it in every extremity. Then in turn, the captains all swore allegiance to Magellan."

There were some, it was afterwards found, who had already, in their hearts, meditated mutiny, which the reader will learn "brought a harvest of blood."

Before stepping aboard, the special friend, Falerio the astronomer and geographer, placed in the hands of Magellan the last word in mapmaking at that time, the maps and charts which were to be his teacher and guide. The king handed Magellan his instructions, which were, that he should proceed straight to the spice lands and not intrude on the lands of Portugal.

One historian observes that "had Magellan returned home with a rich cargo, he would have been held for the longitude in which it had been taken." This observation will no doubt leave the reader to muse upon the audacity of the Pope in parcelling out the whole world to two crowned heads, through the authority vested in him, by a devious construction of certain words of Jesus.

Finally on the "twentieth of September, 1519, the little fleet sailed from the mouth of the Guadalquivir." This fleet sailed down the African coast, probably within sight of land, until the Cape Verde Islands came into view.

As a last resort the King of Portugal planned to intercept the fleet after it would sail. He reasoned that Magellan would either sail down the African coast to the cape of Good Hope, then turn due west to strike the east coast of South America, or sail from Spain

directly to South America, then sail down the coast and hunt for a passage to the South Sea, the discovery of Balboa. So he sent a hostile fleet to the Cape of Good Hope, and another to the north of Rio de Laplata. By this means, the King of Portugal felt sure that he would be able to intercept the Spanish fleet either course it would take.

Magellan knew nothing of this plan to destroy his fleet. It was through blind luck that he entirely evaded disaster. After passing the equator, very bad weather was encountered. On the 29th of November, a little more than two months after sailing, land was sighted on the coast of Brazil. Already the seed of mutiny, previously sown, began to sprout. Captain Cartagena of the San Antonio, who was appointed by King Charles, began to hurl insults at Magellan. When these insults became unbearable, Magellan with his own hands, grabbed the miscreant, saying at the same time, "You are my prisoner." Cartagena called to the others for help, but none would respond; so the Captain was led to the Victoria and placed in stocks.

Some dissimulation must here have been used through the Portugese influence in obtaining the appointment for Cartagena. The command of the San Antonio was given to Antonio de Cosa whom the king had appointed accountant for the ships.

On December 5th, the fleet anchored in Rio harbor. Here they found the natives friendly and in a country abounding in game and fish, which enabled the crews to change their diet to fresh meat, fowl and fish, and fresh vegetables. A brisk trade was carried on with the natives, at any price offered, as the native goods had

been so easily obtained and the ignorant natives had no idea about values of the trinkets offered; and so the Spaniards had the opportunity to fix prices both ways, and it is to be presumed that they highly prized their opportunity and made the most of it. The chronicler bragged that he took the Jack out from a deck of cards and gave it for six fowls. This man was an Italian nobleman, named Pigafetta. The first syllable of his name fits his character very well.

About January 1st, the fleet reached the great river, Rio de la Plata, now the province, Buenos Aires, just north of Patagonia. This point had some time before been reached, as this was the place where an explorer had lost his life at the hands of cannibals.

When Magellan saw the natives on the shore, he remembered the fate of the explorer Solis, so he put on shore a company of well armed men, but the natives took fright and ran away, taking up their feet somewhat faster than the Spaniards were able to duplicate. Magellan carefully explored the river, then set his sails for the south, hunting constantly for an opening in the shoreline, for a passage through.

In February, the storms were almost constant and sometimes surely terrifying to the sailors. The ship's chronicler tells of an island they discovered which they named Seal Island. As the ship's water was getting low, Magellan sent a boat ashore with a few men to prospect for water and wood, neither of which could they find. But the men found that the island was the winter quarters for penguins and the resort of seals. They set to killing birds and seals, until the boat was full of the slaughtered birds and seals. About the

time they were ready to start back to the fleet, a terrible storm set in, and the poor fellows were imprisoned there without food in that awful storm. When found next morning, they had almost perished, with a boat load of food and not a bite to eat, most likely wishing they had never heard of Magellan or his expedition.

Magellan still continued his course down the Patagonian coast, with the storm increasing until things became desperate. The suffering men implored the Saints and the Virgin Mary to come to their relief, by promises to visit the shrines and do penance sufficiently to appease the most exacting.

At the end of March, we are told that they dropped anchor at Port Julian. At this port, their hope of finding rest was blasted. A crisis was hanging over them ready to drop at any moment, without warning, like the bursting of a bomb. While here, although the weather was exceedingly bad, there was plenty of wood and an abundance of fine cool spring water, and game to be had without stint. There was no good reason for wanting to return; still, many of the men were determined to go no further. They argued that there was no passage into the great South Sea, and it was foolish to spend their time among savages and wild beasts. But Magellan looked at the matter from another angle. He was responsible for the expedition, and thinking of the cost to his adopted country, the Spanish government, how could he meet the king.

No, he would rather face death. For awhile the men abated their clamor. But another big storm from the elements broke. The lightning flashed, thunder fairly shook the earth, and the ships tugged at their

anchors, dragging them slowly toward the fatal rocks, threatening almost immediate destruction; but Magellon was resolute. He would hold out until the storm abated, then again take up his journey. For some unknown reason, Magellan relieved Antonio de Cosa of command of the San Antonio, and placed his cousin, Alvarado Mesquita, in command. The mutineers could see in this appointment, they thought, some hidden scheme not to their good. They raved; they threatened; they plotted against the life of Magellan. The great expense was nothing to them. What would it be to them whether the king got a cargo of spices or not, and only a few of them were Spaniards, anyway. They would go back to their respective countries, and thereafter be satisfied to remain at home where the ground would be firm under their feet.

A large deputation waited upon the commander, Magellan, who talked in the following manner:

"We have plenty to eat, plenty of water, plenty of clothing, what is the hurry, spring will soon be here, and then our troubles will be over, many of you are Spaniards who have the reputation for braving endurance resolutely, and now you would disgrace the history of your nation, ruin its reputation which has taken generations to build."

But this appeal fell on deaf ears.

Then he tried their cupidity.

"When the weather in the spring gives us hope and courage, we will make a discovery that will give us fame and fortune."

We will let Mr. William Johnson, in his splendid "The World's Discoverers," (page 134) tell the story.

"One night, Gasper Quesada, captain of the Concepcion, with the disgraced Cartagena, Juan Sebastian del Cano, and thirty armed men boarded the San Antonio, captured the cousin, Captain Mesquita, and put him in irons. A loyal Basque, Lorriage, the master, ordered the mutineers to leave the ship.

"What, shall we suffer this fool to balk us!" cried Quesada and himself stabbed the faithful officer almost to death. The whole affair occurred so quickly that the surprised crew were overpowered and disarmed before they could offer armed resistance. Juan Sebastian del Cano, whose name will hereafter appear in a more honorable connection, was put in command of the ship. The guns were mounted; the decks were cleared and every preparation was made for holding her. For Magellan the situation looked black. Three vessels were in the hands of the mutineers. Yet so quickly and quietly had the work been done, under the cover of the night, that Magellan had no inkling of it until the next day. Then he had a boat go around and ask of the ships, for whom they declared?

"For the king and myself," was the insulting reply from each of the vessels. Only the little Santiago was loyal.

Then Quesada sent a letter to Magellan saying that he had seized the ships to protect the officers and men from the captain-general's mistreatment, but if Magellan would accede to their demands, they would return to their obedience. Magellan replied that he would meet them on his ship and hear their

complaints. But they would not trust themselves there. Still less would Magellan put himself in their power by going to them. Clearly there was no hope for reconciliation. The mutiny must be put down by the strong hand. But how? To attack the three revolting vessels openly, with only the little Santiago, would be folly.

A little later, a skiff rowed from the flag-ship carrying Espinosa, the provost marshal of the fleet, and five men with concealed arms, to the Victoria. Magellan had selected this vessel for his attempt because he knew of the large number of foreigners in her crew who were loyal to him. Espinosa delivered a letter summoning the captain, Mendosa, to the flag ship. The mutinous officer laughed a disdainful refusal, and in an instant, the provost marshal leaped upon him and planted his dagger in the throat of Mendosa. In a moment a picked crew from the Trinidad (the flag ship), headed by Magellan's brother-in-law, Juarte Barbosa, swarmed over the Victoria's side and carried her with a rush. In a trice, the ship was won. How quickly the situation was changed. Barbosa hoisted Magellan's insign on the Victoria, raised the anchor and placed her along side the Trinidad and the little Santiago, in the harbor.

Still the mutineers refused to surrender. Certainly they would not dare to fight against such odds, would not attempt to slip out under cover of darkness. Still, that seemed the most likely course. Magellan had cleared his ship for action. Now he doubled his watch, gave his men a bountiful meal

and took every precaution to guard against escape. At midnight, the San Antonio loomed in the darkness. She was supposed to be bearing down on the flag-ship, but was really dragging her anchors.

The mutinous Quesada, seeing a collision imminent, called his men to arms. None came. In an instant, a lurid flame leaped from the side of the Trinidad and her shot raked the decks. Then came a rush of the boarders. "For whom are you," they cried?

"For the king and Magellan," they answered.

Happily not a man had been killed. The mutinous officers were quickly seized and put in irons, and the imprisoned ones were released. By this time, Magellan had the situation well in hand. His indomitable will had mastered a crisis which to a weaker man would have seemed desperate.

The Concepcion's position in revolt was now hopeless. Capt. Cartagena surrendered, and was put in irons. The mutiny had utterly failed. All must acknowledge that Magellan displayed courage, bravery and generalship. Quesada was guilty of mutiny and attempt to murder. So he was summarily executed. Cartagena, together with a priest who had been active in stirring up sedition, suffered a worse fate. Quesada's body was brought to the shore, dishonored and given an ignominious farewell. When the ships sailed away, Cartagena and the priest were left ashore.

The chronicler maintains that Magellan was strictly within his rights. The king had given Magellan plenary power, but of course he was ame-

nable to the king for abuse of this power. Had Magellan lived to reach Spain, it is likely he would have had to answer for leaving Cartagena and the priest to starve or to be devoured by wild and ferocious animals.

It seemed to be the intention of Magellan to remain at Port St. Julian during the winter; and not to lose all the valuable time, he sent his little Santiago down the coast to make a study of the contour for some distance from his fleet, while the men were cleaning the ships and making needed repairs.

The Santiago came to the mouth of a broad river. The name given to this river was "Rio de Santa Cruz." The crew busied themselves here for several days laying in a supply of fish, as the waters were alive with the finny creatures. They also found plenty of seals, or sea walruses as they were denominated by the sailors. Soon after resuming their cruise, a most violent storm came on, and the Santiago had the misfortune to lose her rudder, thereby becoming unmanageable, and she soon went adrift on the beach. The men had hardly time to get out with some planks before the little craft began to go to pieces. Horrors! Just think of castaways on shore with no food, no shelter, and the storm gaining in fury. Certainly, the condition appeared hopeless. But as the storm finally abated they succeeded in making, from the flotsam from the Santiago, an improvised raft, sufficient to carry two or three men across the river which they had so lately passed. After two had crossed the river, they

soon wearied and realized that they could not all reach the camp. Two of the staunchest had been detailed to make their way, if possible, to the fleet for rescue. Those left would have to manage some way to catch fish on which to sustain life from the uncooked bodies of these little sea rovers.

When the envoys succeeded in reaching the camp, they were hardly recognizable as a part of that complement which left Spain with hopes and prospects before them. A rescuing party was immediately dispatched, which succeeded in returning with every man. The rescurers found the craft beached, but in a badly broken condition. The improvised raft was found where the two men had safely beached it. Although it was a slow and tedious process to take them, two at a time, across the wide river, yet they succeeded, as they were getting well drilled in the school of patience and perseverance.

For some reason, Magellan concluded to "resume" his voyage, although winter (August 24) was at its severest in the southern zone.

For weeks after re-embarking, they did not see an Indian on the shore, but finally a very tall man was observed, apparently admiring the fleet. The height of this man and that of others was quite as interesting to Magellan, as was his fleet to the natives, who, most probably, had never seen a ship prior to this time.

Magellan was quite anxious to secure one of these tall men, really giants. Not being able to trade for one, or cajole one into taking passage with him,

he resorted to trickery and succeeded in capturing two men for exhibition to the people in Spain, on his return.

These men made a great impression on the men of the crews by devouring the rats which always accompanied the ships of those times. No voyage ever seemed to be free from rats.

These giants seemed to enjoy a feast of raw, uncooked rats. They seemed eager to entertain the Spaniards, showed many feats and tricks, mostly unknown to civilized peoples. One, not altogether new, was the swallowing of an arrow, somewhat like the performance of the sword swallowers of Europe.

It may be entertaining to the reader to learn how these giants were captured, and the vile method to which these rough Spaniards resorted in order to accomplish their desires. If you have read this book from the beginning, you will remember how Ojeda captured the Carib giant chief. This capture was akin to that. Most likely, Magellan had read that story, as that incident had occurred some six or seven years before Magellan's voyage around the world.

These two giants were allured by dazzling presents. Magellan put shackles on the feet of one of his men, who cut many "cute" antics thus hampered. Then filling the arms of the giants with glittering presents, he induced them to imitate his men in shackles. With their arms full of presents and their feet in shackles, they cut many grotesque figures, and did not realize the trick until they were safely secured

and taken to the ship and put in prison. It is claimed that one of these poor dupes actually reached Spain, while the other died on shipboard.

After taking the two Indians, Magellan thought best to continue on his course. The little Santiago's crew was distributed among the other crews, and the commander given charge of the Concepcion. By the 24th of October, the fleet reached the Rio de Santa Cruz, right in the midst of the winter. After a two months' rest here and after spring had come with all its joy, they found themselves in a tropical climate, thirteen months from their starting point and not yet in Balboa's South Sea.

Again on their way, the fleet soon came to a beautiful bay with every appearance of an open route to the sea which Vasco Nunez Balboa had discovered some seven years before, and of which so much had been written. How the captain's heart must have welled up in his breast and how his bosom must have heaved with joy at the appearance of a western passage. But let the reader remember that so often "a sting in the honey takes away the joy of the eating."

It is held by some that Magellan knew of this passage before he started on this voyage. In all of such talk and argument, his tone was that which only comes from proven conviction. But still, if there was previous knowledge in regard to this passage through a strait at this latitude, that knowledge "was vague and uncertain, for it seems to be certain that no one had ever penetrated it, much less passed through it to the open sea."

The story would not have the needed interest in the telling, unless Magellan himself should be the one to first observe the bay, even if it were midnight when his eyes saw and his ships felt the effect of the smooth and tranquil waters of the bay. The years he had studied and pored over the charts and maps; had burned the midnight oil with the astronomers; gazed eagerly through the crude glasses of the observers of the courses of the planets; the years he had solicited for the means; the months he had plead for men to man his ships—all this ran through his mind and set the red blood coursing through his brain. That first hour on the tranquil bay meant the harvest of a lifetime of toil and privation. But there was a corner in his heart where lurked a fear that there might not be an open course clear through, and a fear that it might not be navigable if found. Doubt is the forerunner of fear, and fear kills, as fear is a great joy destroyer that brings on dread, which lurks in the dark corners of man's brain and retards action.

But all this was overcome in the mind and heart of Magellan when the bay was entered. He ordered the San Antonio and the Concepcion to make a thorough exploration and return. Suppose they found the way blocked, then what? No, they find the strait clear through, open but tortuous—a welcome report.

After the predicament caused by a most tempestuous storm in which they expected every minute to be dashed to pieces upon the rocks, they found, to their satisfaction, that although the course was

tortuous, there was every indication of a good channel clear through to the open sea, as a continual current was trending toward the west. The gloomy apprehension which well nigh clouded his joy now cleared away until Magellan could almost see the wonderful South Sea waters beyond.

The Admiral then took the opinions of his officers. We are told that Gomez, the pilot of the San Antonio, objected to a continuation of the voyage, as he could not, in his imagination, see the spice-lands nor smell their aroma in the distance. His dislike for Magellan was the veil that clouded his vision; and the remembrance of the mutiny and its results lingered as a stench in his nostrils, which precluded the possibility of an aroma entering. Gomez thought that he should have been appointed as master of the San Antonio instead of pilot. The action of the Admiral, in appointing his cousin, Mesquita, to the captaincy of the San Antonio, was an unpardonable act in the eyes of Gomez. He argued, says the historian: "Let the vessels return to Spain and report the strait discovered. Then they might sail with a fresh equipment and push their way through to the Malaccas. He argued that these islands lay much farther than many imagined which was true; and if on the way thither they should encounter long calms or terrific storms, probably all would perish. From this it is plain that he had a better idea of the size of our globe than was common."

The admiral would not consider such light arguments, and as Gomez was the only objector, the

fleet would push on. Magellan found that his progress was badly hampered by trying to keep his ships together through such a tortuous course among so many islands and around innumerable capes. He concluded to send the San Antonio and the Concepcion ahead to explore the many bays and currents. After many days, we are told, the Concepcion returned and reported the separation of the two ships, days before, as the Concepcion was outsailed by the San Antonio, which was seen no more. This proved it certain that a clear channel exists. The separation was from one of two reasons; there is a channel clear through, or the San Antonio with all on board is lost. Magellan's suspicions were aroused, although his cousin, Mesquita, was captain; that treacherous Gomez was pilot, and none but God himself could know what Gomez might do when opportunity offered. The Victoria sailed back, but could not find any trace, although she went to the entrance to the strait.

Magellan, at his death, had not received the solution of the mystery, which was this: At the instigation of the treacherous Gomez, a part of the crew mutinied, overpowered the rest, stabbed Mesquita and put him in irons, replaced him with another captain and sailed for home, reaching Seville almost one year thereafter.

This desertion was a terrible blow to Magellan, as the San Antonio was the largest of the ships and contained the largest share of the provisions and supplies. Then the skill of Gomez as a sailor could not be duplicated by any one among the several

crews. But while the crews, and especially the captain-general, were bemoaning their hard luck, one of their reconnoitering boats came back with joyful news. The great cape had been observed and beyond was a great open sea. This news was a vitalizing force which brought joy to their dejected spirits. A season of rejoicing was the order. Still more, the stern, unmovable Magellan poured streams from his weary eyes down over his hardened bronze cheeks. The versatile and eloquent Johnson says:

"On the 28th day of November, thirty-eight days from the time of entering the strait, with colors flying and cannon roaring, the little fleet emerged on the broad ocean, whose waters no European keel had ever cut. The waters were so clear and quiet as compared with those of the Atlantic, that Magellan was constrained to name this great water the Peaceful Ocean, or as it was later called, The Pacific Ocean." This appellation soon superseded that of Balboa, "The South Sea," given some seven years before. Now that the expedition is out on a wide peaceful sea, we will hope and expect that the troubles are over, but no, it will soon seem that they have only begun. Magellan steered a little too far to the north, not through ignorance or accident, off his course, but simply hunting for a warmer clime. But he made a mistake, as he missed several good islands where there were many people who had plenty and to spare, and the distance would have been much less.

Days, weeks, months passed away before land was again seen, save a few small barren islands

without wood, water, or inhabitants. Food ran low, until the men were almost reduced to cannibalism. Even old pieces of rawhide, and articles made of rawhide were cleaned, cooked and devoured, with relish for more. But no grumblings or mutterings were heard. When the fleet first entered the great Pacific, the men all signed a compact, agreeing that the first man who uttered a complaint of any kind "should meet death as his reward" for grumbling. As a consequence, it appears that this compact was faithfully kept. Magellan had assured the men and officers that they would find inhabited islands almost continuously after entering the Pacific. And such would have been the case had he steered farther south and endured a little colder weather. However, after burying quite a number of their company and devouring every rat to be found, as greedily as did the giant Indians, land was sighted on the 6th of March, 1520, ninety days from the strait. What a change! "Hope long deferred, rose again." If it were possible for a starving man to be joyful, these men reveled in joy, even before they received the more substantial elements which were not long in coming.

The land sighted was an island of the Ladrones, Guam, which the United States took in 1898 from Spain, while our boys were on the way to the Philippines, to engage in the Spanish war.

Magellan's men soon got into trouble with the natives, who swarmed over the vessels and stole about everything which they could loosen from the stays. It finally became necessary to drive them off. At this action, the natives became terribly

enraged and resorted to violence. Finally, it became necessary to bring the guns into action. When these poor ignorant creatures heard the roar of the cannon and saw several of their braves fall, they withdrew to the land and did not further molest the visitors. Years afterwards, when the Spaniards came to christianize the Natives, they named this group of islands the "Ladrones," on account of the pilfering and stealing proclivity of the inhabitants. Please allow us to observe that this name might as well fit the Spanish sailors as the natives.

In the morning Magellan landed with a strong force, burned the village, killed some of the natives, who resisted, recovered the painter's skiff and seized a quantity of provisions."

Even these drastic measures did not sufficiently awe them. Magellan soon sailed away, but the natives, with hundreds of canoes, hovered around the ships while under sail, even bringing canoe loads of provisions for barter. How the poor starved officers and sailors did relish the vegetables and fruits, The only Englishman on board died that day. Too bad. The poor fellow was too far gone to enjoy a fine meal, as the English always seem to enjoy eating above any other people.

On the 16th, land was again sighted; this time it proved to be a veritable empire discovered, and in honor of the emperor's son, Philip, these islands were named "Philippines."

On passing an island which appeared to be uninhabited, Magellan concluded to land and take possession without ceremonies. It was not long before

a passing native observed the anchorage. He immediately summoned the natives from other islands, who came in great numbers and seemed to be exceedingly friendly. Quite an exchange, as usual, was offered and accepted. Even the Spaniards saw spices offered in exchange for worthless trifles. They felt sure they were near the coveted Eldorado of their desires which had cost them much in treasure and suffering and they felt sure, as they had before, that their sacrifice was nearly over this time. Some more natives came aboard with an abundance of fine oranges and bananas. Many of the men were too sick to enjoy these dainties. The admiral who had been so stern and exacting now began to show the other side of his nature. He visited the sick-men and ministered to their needs with food and medicine and care equal to that of a loving mother. With his own hands, he carried dainties to them, such as cocoa-nut milk and other delicacies. They were now getting a full supply of vegetables, causing the scourge of scurvy to abate.

So marvelous was the change effected by a vegetable diet that ere long nearly all the sick were reporting for duty. Within nine or ten days, the anchors were raised, and the fleet moved on west, touching along on several small islands, and finding everywhere the natives friendly as was usual on the first visit of the voyagers. Although a sharp look-out was kept to apprehend any who might be inclined to pilfer. Some of the more stately of the natives were decorated with ornaments of gold. Gold was the metal that fired the cupidity of the

average Spaniard. These avaricious, heartless, blood-thirsty Spaniards prized gold more dearly than anything else save life, and that, only their own. Hundreds of times they risked, to the limit, their lives for gold, and many times the shining metal won the day and remained unmolested.

As they sailed on, many curious sights excited their interest. There were huge bats, fruit eaters of the Malay archipelagoes. The sailors called them "flying foxes." "They saw eggs as large as goose eggs which came from certain black birds as large as our largest fowls. Certainly most any eggs would look large to men who had not seen an egg, even in their direst needs, for more than a long year's voyage. The great port of Cebu was entered on the 7th of April. This port had the reputation of being the center of traffic in the recognition of importance. A few broadsides from the guns wakened the natives. Then, fearing that they might construe the firing of the guns as a declaration of war, the admiral sent a delegation ashore to assure the natives that it was only a recognition of their greatness and a token of good will. Such acknowledgment of their greatness gave the king excuse for believing that he was superior in strength to the newcomers. "But when the admiral notified him that if he wished peace he could have peace, but if he wished war he could have war," he became quite conciliatory.

Peace soon reigned supreme. After the clerigo had explained the doctrines of the Christian faith, the king of Cebu expressed the desire to become a

Christian and receive baptism. A formal treaty was made, and the king of Spain was given the sole and exclusive right to traffic with these islands. When the ceremonies of trade relations were concluded, all was made ready for the ceremony of baptism. A cavalcade of Spaniards in full armor with an exact step marched down the gang-plank and took the position assigned them, near where the admiral and his majesty, the King of the Cebu nation, sat on chairs covered with velvet. "The candidates for the sacred ceremony of baptism, the king and a number of princes and nobles, were all clad in white. The admiral had instructed the king that if he would be a good Christian, he must burn all his idols." This the bigoted old dupe agreed to do. It appears that the idea of the Spaniards was that the destruction of the idols and the submission to baptism was all that stood between the Christian and the pagan. So hurridly did the inhabitants of Cebu apply for baptism that within one week, all the inhabitants of Cebu, together with many from other islands, had received the rite of baptism. But the later annals show that the idols were not generally destroyed. Nor did these people understand what they were expected to do, beyond the sacrificing of their idols and submitting to baptism. Magellan soon learned that the inhabitants were only submitting to his requirements, in order to get the full confidence of the admiral, for the benefit of trade, but at the same time did not prize the trade value as exceeding the value of their idols. On learning the inside of their desires for baptism,

Magellan felt very much scandalized, and reproved them severely.

About this time, the brother of the prince was taken very sick and had been speechless for several days. The natives were now in a quandary, as they were anxious to have the influence of the Christian's God and also to retain the good graces of their own Deity. Should they baptize the sick heir, their own Deity would be greatly offended. While the wise men hesitated, the admiral, being a man of wonderful resources, offered the following proposition, which was accepted. He would call upon the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to restore the heir to speech and health. But let us have the story from the pen of the historian, G. W. Johnson (page 159, "World Discoverers").

"Here was a great opportunity for showing the infinite superiority of Christianity over paganism, and Magellan eagerly seized it. He assured the king that if he had true faith in our Lord, burned his idols, and caused the sick man to be baptized, he would quickly recover. On this he would stake his life. The king agreed, and a procession marched, with great show, to the sick man's house, where he was unable to speak or move. He was baptized, and lo! immediately he was able to speak. Five days later he arose from his bed, burned an idol which he had in his house and caused several temples to be destroyed."

Where did Mr. Johnson get this story? He does not say. There could be but two sources, one from the islanders themselves or one from the ship's

chronicler with the expedition. We will leave the story without comment at this time, until we get farther along with Magellan's story of the future incidents.

Mr. Johnson says further that the pagans "could not destroy their idols fast enough and arrange themselves under the stranger's God. The Spaniards were now riding on the top of the wave of popularity."

Within a few days after this circumstance, it was learned that the king of a neighboring island refused to destroy his idols and accept Christianity. This inaction very much angered the great admiral of more than one-half of the world. He determined to chastize the recalcitrant, probably, to prove his power, to back up his authority. His staunch friend and supporter, Serrao, tried every expediency to induce the admiral to ignore the stubborn king, and even secured the help of all the other officers, but all was of no avail. Magellan set his judgment against any number of opposers. This appears, possibly, to show strength, but the opposite was often the result, as on this occasion.

When Magellan showed his determination to chastize the king, his officers begged him not to go in person, as they would do the job for him, that his life was too dear to be exposed to a lot of ruthless savages. But the admiral was obdurate. On the 27th day of April, the attack was made.

We will not follow the struggle, as it is sufficient to say that Magellan met his first and only defeat, "his Waterloo." The next day his officers offered fab-

ulous prices for the Admiral's body, the body of their great commander, but the victors answered that no offer would be any temptation to them to part "with so valuable a trophy."

We find here another exhibition of Magellan's immeasurable confidence in himself, his unflinching bravey, his unlimited ambition, his immovable stubborness and his egotism, and his unswerving belief in his protection by the Deity.

We will have no more daring incidents to relate of Magellan's heroism or to add to a summing up of the characteristics of this most extraordinary man, so we leave the estimation of his character to the reader.

A comparison of Magellan with Columbus throws no shadow from Columbus over Magellan. True, much about the earth and about navigation had been learned since Columbus crossed the Atlantic. The two men were not in any sense rivals, although their views were somewhat similar. Columbus believed that a due westerly course would take him to India, and to his dying day he believed that the land which he had discovered, did, in some way connect with India. His voyage required but three month's time, while Magellan had hardly made a start in that time. And before the lone ship of the fleet of five vessels with which Magellan had started, had reached home, three years lacking twenty days, had expired. For real, genuine heroism, nothing is known in the annals of history that surpasses that displayed by Magellan. He did not reach the southern extremity until one whole year had vanished. Almost another year was spent over a chartless and unknown sea in a

terrible storm belt of the wide Pacific, before he came to anchorage in a safe harbor.

We will resume the narrative, as the reader will want to see the end of the expedition.

After the death of Magellan, the king of Cebu, who had embraced the Christian religion, invited the officers to a feast. Serrao, feeling that all might not be right, hesitated. Serrao, the special friend of the fallen Magellan, commander of the little Santiago until she was lost on the coast above Cape Horn, did not think best to accept the invitation, but Barbosa insisted so hard that Serrao consented, and went ashore. Espinosa and Carvalho saw some suspicious movements and halted. There were none who went on shore that ever returned. A terrible onslaught occurred. The natives, on every hand and by the thousand, pounced upon the officers with fury, and with weapons of every kind that the genius of a warlike and barbarous people could contrive. During the awful hand to hand struggle, all the Spaniards who went ashore fell victims to the vile treachery of those who had so recently taken the vows of Christianity. Carvalho entered his ship and began a bombardment. Serrao was dragged to the shore in a horrible condition, smeared with blood. He called to Carvalho to come and ransom him, on terms of barter, as the natives were ready to release him for a price. But Carvalho saw the opportunity for succeeding him in command, and sailed away, while Serrao was raining the vilest imprecations upon him and calling on God to make the applications. Before the vessels were hardly under way, the natives began to destroy all the evi-

dences of their having adopted the new religion. The Concepcion was abandoned and junked, from the lack of men to handle her. Three out of the five vessels were now gone. Only the Trinidad and the Victoria were left.

Carvalho did not have the skill to sail the Victoria and Sebastian del Cano took the command, and for the time took to himself the glory of the success of the adventure. Thus it was and ever is. The real hero by some trivial circumstance, loses to another the credit of a great inspiration. The ships were anchored in a harbor off an island, thoroughly overhauled, then headed for the Malaccas and loaded with spices. A long, tedious sailing was now before these veterans. Storms and famine loomed in the distance. The Trinidad was wrecked on a Portugese island, her cargo confiscated and her crew thrown into prison. Only nineteen of her original crew of fifty were found. Vasco de Gama, the hero of the great Portugese expedition around the Cape of Good Hope, was now Viceroy of the Portugese islands. He held these men in prison for many months, and finally, when all but four were dead, after three years, he sent them to Spain in chains. Take another credit from the hero of the stormy cape.

Before reaching the west coast of Africa, the one battered vessel must stem the stormy winds and waters of that awful cape. What gloomy misgivings arose in the minds of these almost wornout remnants of a once joyful and hopeful expedition. "Will our battered craft survive the awful struggle? Will she round the stormy cape?" All were alert; all were vigilant. Fortune surely for once favored their efforts.

The ship weathered the gales of the dangerous reefs until the good ship was gently sailing up the west coast of Africa.

Now the fear ahead was that they must pass the Portugese islands. Can they do so without detection? None but the queen of fortune must be courted and cajoled or the vigilant Portugese will yet fall afoul of them. With all these misgivings, the Victoria plowed her course toward Seville, until hunger gnawed at the stomaches of all on board. In their extremity, the captain sent a detachment to one of the Cape Verde islands with instructions to say that they were on the way from America and were needing water and food. The captain knew of the great danger of the identity of the men being detected, their persons seized and his valuable cargo taken. But necessity knows no laws and looks fear squarely in the face. The ruse would have worked perfectly had not the captain lingered where food and water were plentiful a few days too long. It had been so long since the men had known anything of home life that they were loath to leave, although they were nearing the home port. The anchor was raised and the ship ready to sail, only waiting for the last boat with the men and rice to board the vessel, when out came a boat, not their own, but one loaded with Portugese officials, who demanded surrender. Some drunken sailor had betrayed the secret. Del Cano tried to make terms for the return of his men and boat, but when he saw others preparing to come out from shore, he set on full sail and hastened away.

It was hard, we are told, for the small crew and some

of them sick, to work the ship, but the captain succeeded in reaching the home port before being overtaken by the Portugese. Great was the rejoicing upon the arrival of the Victoria at the home port. Rockets were thrown high in the air, cannons roared the welcome, bells rang their joy, artillery fired a series of salutes, and every normal individual cheered until the vocal cords demanded rest. Captain del Cano was the great man of the hour.

For the moment, Magellan was lost sight of. Conditions were not considered; only results win the multitude. What an unrighteous fate. Del Cano, once a mutineer, a rebel, prisoner, pardoned and unpunished by the curious turn of fate; with his ability playing a major part, he unrighteously becomes the hero of the hour.

Destiny runs in a tortuous stream, breaking afar on an unseen coast, fickle and false as a fitful dream, sailing away to an unseen port. The thirteen men who were left on the island, soon appeared at Lisbon. Of all the men who set out with Magellan, only forty succeeded in sailing "the world around." Poor Mesquita the cousin of Magellan, and captain of the San Antonio had been put in irons by the mutineers and deserters and had lain in jail all of the time since the absconding ship had returned. But now, as the truth was learned the poor fellow was liberated and allowed to join in the honors of the faithful and successful few.

After the rejoicing had partially subsided, it was discovered that the dates of the ship and those of the home port did not agree as to the date of return. The ship had kept a faithful record, but the date of

arrival was September 6, while the official date was September 7. At first this difference was a puzzle. The most learned astronomers of the day were called and after some study, they found, as the home date was correct, that the voyagers, continually sailing west, had lost a day, as their days had been more than twenty-four hours long. Hence, it finally became necessary for seafaring folk to agree upon a line of longitude where the time of the home port should be changed to the time of the port of destination.

But after all the strange information had been revealed and considered, the great surprise was that the value of the cargo of the Victoria was sufficient to defray all the expenses of the whole expedition, and leave a handsome profit. This estimate included the loss of three ships and the damage to the Victoria. King Charles considered the expedition a great success.

Geographically this was true, and also finacially; but oh, what a cost to life, comfort and happiness. More than two hundred men of the expedition met tragic deaths, mostly from starvation or slaughter by the natives of the islands. Magellan was dead, and his body in the hands of brutish natives, thousands of miles away. His son was also dead.

But the king was happy, and all Spain was floating on a field of glory as the greatest maritime nation of the round earth. Someone has said that "glory leads but to the grave." So it has been with old Spain. Where is her glory today? Where is Portugal's prestige and her power today? Echo answers, "where?" Portugal is but a speck on the map of the world, and Lisbon—well, "in 1755 the earth opened and gulped her down and this was the fate of Lisbon town."

A magnificent statue was erected to the memory of del Cano, while Magellan was hardly mentioned.

Taking an account of the published story, the whole seafaring world awoke to the new conditions brought about by new knowledge, new thoughts, new conceptions, and new possibilities, the knowledge of which brought about new ambitions that rose with the brilliancy of a morning sun in the golden days of harvest. Hardly could an idle ship builder be found in any port. New ideas and new visions wrestled with each other for men to put them into service. The whole world was quickened as from a long sleep by the news of the great discoveries. The names of Columbus Diaz, de Gama, Balboa, del Cano, Magellan, and a host of names of lesser importance ornamented the newly printed page.

The invention of printing by Gutenberg, in Germany was just coming into general use, at the right time to give the highly colored stories to all the world. It would take a library of no small proportions to tell of all the various impulses that were quickened by the many new discoveries, not only of lands and peoples, but in the arts, sciences, etc.

We will confine this writing to what, or a part of what, took place on the Pacific following Magellan's expedition.

CHAPTER VIII

SPANISH IN THE PACIFIC

UP TO 1578, the Spaniards had gone during their explorations no farther than the forty-second degree of north latitude, or possibly the forty-third. Nothing was known to the civilized world of that vast northwest bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

True, Cortez was making permanent the conquest of Mexico, bordering on the great gulf. Although the Spanish had established forts at intervals along the west coast of South America, and occasionally inland from the Mexican shore, still all the country to the Russian line—wherever that might be—was claimed by the crown of Spain, by virtue of Balboa's discovery of the Pacific. However, they had no idea of the shape or extent of their claim, above the forty-third degree of north latitude, the extent of their explorations.

They named the whole of this territory "California."

About this time, the Spaniards concluded to again enter the field of adventure and explore their northern possessions, and if possible, learn the truth about the extent of California, whether it was a part of America, or a country all alone by itself.

Mandoza and a few others had been sailing up and down the coast since 1539, but all of them were in ignorance of the condition of the North. Later, the navigators discovered that California was a part of the American continent, and not a distinct country by iteself. Gustavus Hines, in his history of Oregon,

says there was satisfactory evidence "that some of the early explorers saw the coast up as far as the forty-fourth degree," but I think the evidence is of a doubtful character.

In 1543, the bold navigator, Ferrelo, reached the forty-third parallel of north latitude. These navigators were sailing under the authority of the Viceroy of Mexico, with instructions to go as far north as they could, for the purpose, it would appear, of establishing the northern limits of Mexico. This statement is pure conjecture on the part of the writer of this book. He has hunted long and hard to find the statement of facts in regard to the fixing, or the reason for establishing Mexico's north line at the forty-second degree. He has failed utterly to find the time, the circumstance, or the reason for this particular latitude for Mexico's north line. Since Ferrelo might have lacked a few minutes of reaching the forty-third degree, the viceroy concluded to take the forty-second and save haggling later over the matter. The establishing of this boundary is not so important now as it was before the United States acquired the state of California, and the line ceased longer to be an international boundary.

The reader will readily see that the account of Ferrelo's voyage is the first authentic account of a white man's ever seeing any portion of the Oregon country. Ferrelo's mission, as outlined by the Viceroy of Mexico, was to learn of the population and wealth of the country for the purpose of conquest and robbery, as was the custom of the Spanish. Incidentally, Ferrelo was to keep a good lookout for the fabled strait of Ainan. The report of Ferrelo upon his return must have been

very unsatisfactory to the viceroy, for whatever incentive he had for sending Ferrelo out on the expedition, it will be observed that no other expedition was equipped by the Spanish for exploration during more than fifty years, as they seemed to be satisfied to let well enough alone. However, the commerce was rapidly increasing. The time during these fifty years might be considered "The Golden Age of Spanish Commerce." The Spanish government was adopting and pushing "those measures of restrictions and seclusion with little relaxation during this whole period of her supremacy on the American continent." The great object to be attained by this policy of seclusion was to secure to the Spanish people the perpetual enjoyment of all the advantages which could be derived from the territories claimed by the Spanish crown.

With this object in view, it was considered absolutely necessary not only to prevent the establishment of foreigners in any part of these territories but also to discourage the too rapid advancement of the Spanish provinces themselves, in population, wealth or other resources. Agreeable to these ideas, the settlement and even the explorations for new countries in America were halted or entirely discontinued. No colonies were allowed to be planted near the coast, lest they might be discovered, subjugated and used by other nations against the Spaniards. Foreigners in general were prohibited, under penalty of death, from landing on any section of the world supposed to belong to Spain, or navigating the seas in its vicinity.

The historians tell us that at about this time (1570),

the principles of civil liberty were beginning to be discussed in England. The people no longer acknowledged the Pope of Rome as their spiritual head "nor did they bear the Pope's fulminations."

Although the successor of St. Peter had granted to Spain a great part of the American continent and, as far as possible, had confirmed her in her possessions, yet the English murmured bitterly against these excluding regulations of the Spanish government. They demanded their right to occupy vacant portions of America and to trade with those portions already settled. These reasonable demands were refused by the Spanish government.

The Queen of England encouraged her subjects to violate, openly, and secretly, these discriminating laws, which she considered and declared to be unjustifiable and inhuman. On the Atlantic side of America, we see these restrictive laws immediately violated by daring English navigators. The words, "Free traders" and "free-booters," were welcome to all daring navigators who hurled defiance in the teeth of the Spaniards as they plundered their cargoes and some of their settlements along the coast.

From some of the reports concerning the importance of the commerce of the Pacific, the English had long desired to share in its advantages; and at length, all the dread of the difficulties and dangers of the passage through the Straits of Magellan were overcome. Then appeared on the waters of the Pacific the most renowned captain of the age. This captain was none other than Captain Francis Drake, later Sir Francis Drake, the world famous pirate and free-booter of the English

navy. As the opinion has prevailed that Drake effected important discoveries on the Pacific coast of Oregon which had much to do with later discoveries and development of the Great Northwest, it will be pertinent to the title and scope of this book, which is to show in considerable detail how the Oregon Country came to be discovered, and to show how Captain Drake figured in the great work, and how he was self-schooled to undertake one of the most dangerous and audacious enterprises known to seafaring folk.

CHAPTER IX

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE was one of the first to put a girdle around the world.

The life and dangerous voyages of Sir Francis Drake, with the surprising of Nombre d Dios, and the manner of gaining large quantities of gold and silver, might well be enumerated as one of the wonders of the world's achievements. An account of the voyage during which he encompassed the whole world, together with the voyages he made with Sir Francis Knolls and others, with the taking of the towns of Santiago, San Domingo and St. Austin, with the last, during which he died, will be told in this chapter.

Sir Francis Drake was born in Devonshire, England, and brought up in Kent. His father was a minister embracing the protestant doctrine, and was therefore called in question by the law of the six articles. He was forced to fly into Kent for shelter, where he bound his son Francis as an apprentice to the master of a vessel.

The captain carried on trade between England and New Zealand. Young Drake underwent a hard apprenticeship. But he patiently endured his hard life, and was richly rewarded for his faithful services, as his master died unmarried and bequeathed his vessel to young Drake, as a legacy.

Drake operated his vessel for some time, but becoming tired of the hard life of a sailor, he sold his vessel to great advantage and invested his fortune

with the noted John Hawkins, who was making investments in the West Indies. Hawkins fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who captured and confiscated his ship and valuable cargo. This was accomplished by treachery, and the plunder was delivered to the Viceroy of Old Mexico.

Drake made a voyage to the Indies and secured the names of those implicated in the robbery. He then returned to England, and with the assistance of his brother, fitted out an expedition for the punishment of the robbers.

It may here be stated that, as the West India Islands were discovered under the auspices of the Spanish government, Spain was very jealous of what she considered her sole right to all benefits arising from the subjugation of the native population, and conceived it her right to confiscate the property of all who interfered in any way with her monopoly. But as Columbus had not yet discovered the main land of North America Spain's jealousy was not so much in evidence in those parts, especially east of the Alleganies.

On the 24th of May, 1572, Captain Drake hoisted his sail on the Pasco of Plymouth, a seventy ton ship, and the Swan, a ship of twenty-five tons, commanded by his brother, John Drake. With these two tiny vessels and seventy men, these daring Drakes assayed to punish the acts of the Spaniards who had so cruelly dealt with the elder brother. The Spaniards were considered as the kings of the sea, especially in the waters of the Indies, holding the subjects of all other nations in awe.

The Drakes steered for the terra-firma in the Darien

country, where Ojeda, Nicuesa and Enciso were so badly used fifty years before. Within less than two months, they hove in sight of the mainland. Let it be remembered that Drake had sworn vengeance on the Spaniards in general. So it mattered little to him whom he attacked, so the party was under the protection of the Spanish flag.

We cannot give all the details, but will confine the narrative to results, mostly. On the twenty-ninth of June, land was discovered (a very quick voyage). The little vessels were anchored, and the water tanks were filled, the men were rested and all made ready for action. Five days later, they reached the mainland at Santa Martha and landed at the very place where the robbery was accomplished the year before. But no inhabitants were to be seen; neither were there any goods to capture.

Drake concluded to remain at this place until he could build a couple of pinnaces (small craft to use along the shore in shallow water), as the material for their construction could be found near at hand. When the pinnaces were finished, the anchors were raised and the ships were headed for Nombre d Dios where Drake fell in with Captain Rawfe, an Englishman who was also on a marauding expedition against the Spanish settlements in the Indies. Here, the two captains joined their forces. Captain Rawfe had already made a valuable capture in goods and supplies.

After the two captains, Drake and Rawfe, joined their forces, they were very successful in their schemes for robbing the Spaniards. When they felt that the time had come for the Spaniards to form a strong

opposition to them, they divided their spoils and sailed for home, each carrying immense treasure, the result of their harvest against the Spanish shipping and settlements. These men, while prosecuting their thefts, showed much mercy toward their victims, very much in contrast to the actions of the Spaniards when robbing the English.

It had long been the policy of the Spanish to capture and confiscate or burn their shipping and murder their victims, as dead men tell no tales. But to the credit of Drake from a merciful standpoint, he always killed as few as possible in making a capture, and then furnished the vanquished with sufficient provisions and shipping to carry them to their destination. Drake considered himself, no doubt, a benevolent robber, and justified his actions as retaliations on the Spaniards for the robberies he had suffered at their hands. Not only was Drake punishing the Spaniards for the wrongs committed against himself, but also for those committed against the English nation.

For a time, it would seem that Drake felt that he had sufficiently punished the Spaniards for their depredations. But as the years passed by in the service of his country, and his vast treasure, obtained from the Spanish robberies, was continually declining, his mind again reverted to the Spaniards, who were monopolizing the trade in the great South Sea, and thereby reaping vast fortunes from South America's western shore and from the Pacific islands discovered by Magellan.

Let us here have a quotation from a small history written by one of Drake's officers during the voyage around South America. (This book is now in the library of A. N. Bush, Salem, Oregon).

"Captain Francis Drake having in a former voyage in the year 1572-3 had some view of the South Atlantic, and thereupon conceiving a desire to being better acquainted with it, thought that he was crossed in his design for several years, partly through his serving for hire for his Prince and country. At length, in the year 1577, by gracious commission from his sovereign and help from divers friends, adventurers, he fitted himself with five ships viz; the Pelican, Admiral Burthern, one hundred tons; the Captain General, Francis Drake; the Elizabeth, eighty tons, Captain John Winters; the Marigold, a bark of thirty tons, Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fire boat, fifty tons, Captain John Chester, and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons. The ships he manned with one hundred and sixty-four able men and furnished them with all necessaries, not forgetting ornaments and delights, having with him several expert musicians, likewise made some pinnaces, but carried abroad in pieces for to be set up when occasion served. Thus furnished we set sail from Plymouth, November 15, 1577."

Drake set his course southward, keeping but a reasonable distance from the African coast, passing the Cape Verde Islands, Cape Blanco, and not crossing the Equator until he reached the latitude of Brazil; then turning his prows westward, he steered for Valparaiso. He hailed several Spanish craft soon after leaving the African coast, captured and robbed them and appropriated their ships and cargos.

Before leaving the African coast for good, Drake turned back and set ashore all the Spaniards from the

captured ships with one month's provisions, save one with a pinnace whom he placed on a passing ship to be delivered to his native land. Drake evidently considered that he had done a gracious thing in his treatment of those whom he had robbed. A queer mode of morals was his. He was what might be termed a very generous highwayman. Certainly, this action was superior to that of the Spaniards.

Captain Drake, on account of storms, had much trouble in keeping his ships afloat and within speaking distance of each other. Before reaching the South Sea, of Balboa, from November 15, 1577, to October 30, 1578, the time of which was spent in buffeting storms and winding his way through among the islands of Magellan's Straits and floundering against the southeast winds until he discovered the last islands to the south, proving that a free open sea exists where the Atlantic and the Pacific battle for supremacy.

Up to this time, the Spaniards held this knowledge from the world. The reader will remember that one of Magellan's ships, San Antonio, sailed around in this open sea and reported, when home that all the other ships were lost. But the captain, Gomez, dared not report this feature—going around the cape—for fear of being accused of desertion. The course through the straits was a very tortuous one, and other mariners not in possession of this information feared to attempt the adventure. Hence, Spain had not been troubled by opposition in the South Sea. Possibly a very few competing ships had entered the Pacific, but if so, they had not escaped the venom of the Spaniards, and hence were reported "lost."

Drake changed the name of his ship to "The Golden Hind," which name is familiar to every reader of history. In this voyage, he had several objects in view. One was to break the Spanish monopoly in the South Sea, another to make discoveries as far as possible of all lands and islands in the South Sea, or Pacific, and give to the world a correct description of the size, and location of all discoveries, the fertility of the soil, the various productions, and the style and manner of the peoples, the possibilities of trade, and last but not least, to find the fabled Straits of Ainan, in the north of America. That would admit of a shorter route to India than that of rounding the furious Cape Horn or risking the dangerous Straits of Magellan, thereby giving England a prestige on the high seas, and himself a place among the great discoverers.

Consequently, when he found himself in the great sea of Balboa, the Pacific Ocean, with a joyous and loyal crew and with the fastest ship he had ever sailed, (the Golden Hind) he jubilantly pointed her prow toward the Spanish forts along the west shore of South America. So quietly and so silently did he pursue his course to the north that he robbed and destroyed nearly every ship and fort that he found. No Spanish ship was fast enough to pass him and give warning in advance of his approach. Neither could any ship follow and overtake him in his course of destruction of the Spanish forts. But the captain treated the islanders whom he discovered, with decency, honesty and compassion. He paid for all purchases, or at least gave satisfactory values. There is a world of difference in the manner of treatment of the Indians

by the Spanish people, and that of their treatment by the English.

Such was the hatred held against Spain on account of her supremacy on the high seas and her arrogant demeanor and exclusive policy and inhuman treatment of her captives that several nations harbored a grudge against her, and determined to inflict all the injury possible against her. They sent out "free-booters" or pirates with tacit instructions to give no quarters to Spanish captives, nor to hesitate in plundering, when opportunity offered to do so in safety to themselves.

Since Spain's most lucrative operations were in the Pacific, Captain Drake chose that field for his operations.

Drake was a pioneer in this nefarious traffic. He knew well the values of the rich cargoes carried from the Philippines by the Spanish galleons, and sought diligently for some route to the Pacific, other than the dangerous one by the way of the Straits of Magellan. As a result, the security of Spanish shipping vanished forever.

It was 1578, when Drake entered into the Pacific with five ships on his free-booting expedition, and sailed up the South American coast and the coast of North America to the forty-third parallel of north latitude. By this time, his ships needed repairs before he could return to England. So he turned about and retraced his course as far as the thirty-ninth parallel where he expected to find warmer weather.

Gustavus Hines, in his "Wild Life in Oregon," states that Drake entered San Francisco Bay, without

giving his authority. I think the historians discredit this statement, as the description Drake gives of the coast and other particulars do not fit the region about San Francisco Bay. But let that appear as it may, there is no doubt that Captain Drake pushed about as far as Oregon's south boundary, which is at the forty-second degree of north latitude. Possibly Captain Drake was the second white man to reach the Oregon coast. This was in the year 1579.

After repairing his ships, Captain Drake sailed for home via China and the Cape of Good Hope, as Magellan's lone surviving ship had done fifty years before. The English people were so delighted with Captain Drake's success that the queen knighted him on his own ship, The Golden Hind, and ever afterwards he was known as "Sir Francis Drake."

Later, when the English government was struggling to establish its priority in the discovery of the Oregon country, the claim was set up that Captain Drake had sailed beyond the Columbia River; but the English were unable to substantiate their contention. Drake called the country, "New Albion."

Now another long period of inaction takes place, wherein no exploration by any government is authorized. For about 150 years, the primeval conditions in the north Pacific again prevailed. The internecine wars in Europe during much of this time kept the nations occupied at home. No navigator bothered himself about explorations, as the resources of the people and governments were taxed to the limit to hold what they already had.

Finally, when the hostility between nations had

subsided for awhile, the Viceroy of Mexico, in 1774, sent out one Heceta, a Spanish navigator of experience, to explore the coast to the forty-third parallel. This was about the limit, the reader will remember, that was reached by Ferrelo, under orders from the Viceroy of Mexico in 1543. No doubt this viceroy was wishing to confirm the report of Ferrelo, to aid in the establishment of the northern boundary of Mexico. Heceta reported that he reached the fifty-fourth degree, where he landed. This was probably about Queen Charlotte Island. Heceta then turned south and made land again, at the forty-ninth degree and thirty minutes. After resting awhile, he again raised anchor and proceeded down the coast, making only casual observations until he reached Monterey, about fifty miles south of the Golden Gate. Heceta was again the next year entrusted with the command of another expedition, which reached Trinidad in latitude forty-one. Here he erected a cross setting forth the rights of the Spanish government to the country discovered. From here he continued north to the forty-ninth degree, then turning east he soon saw land. It is generally supposed this land was on the south side of Vancouver Island at the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Heceta then proceeded down the coast and made several landings, one of which was within eighty miles of the Columbia River.

Here Heceta came near to a small island, and some of the men went ashore for fresh water and fell in with some Indians who murdered every one of them, after which they, with their canoes, immediately attacked the ship, apparently wishing to destroy the men and

their ship. But the sailors succeeded in beating them off and getting the ship again under sail. This island was called the "Isle of Grief."

Twelve years later, an English crew was murdered by these same Indians. The officers of that ship called the place "Isle of Destruction."

Heceta continued on his way south and discovered Cape Disappointment, which the Spanish named, "Cape San Roque," and noted on the log of the ship a bay directly south under the latitude of forty-six degrees and sixteen minutes. This coincides with the Columbia River.

The captain also noted what appears to be a bay or the mouth of a river, and named it, "Rio de San Roque." Heceta made no attempt to enter or further investigate enough to give any real description of the appearance that existed. It was all a mere supposition and nothing more, and was soon forgotten as a matter of little importance.

During the same year, 1775, another Spanish navigator, Bodega, made the Oregon coast to a point about one-half degree south of the Columbia River. The first land seen by Bodega was the high promotory which is now called "Tillamook Head," but then, "Killamook Head." It is now claimed that Bodega carefully examined the coast line of Tillamook Head to Cape Mendocino for a large river which was supposed to exist in that section, as had been hinted at by Augillar in 1603.

After Sir Francis returned to England he still did what he could in harrassing the Spanish shipping. When the great "Invincible Armada" of the Spanish

attacked the English fleet in the English harbor, Drake and his friend, Captain Hawkins, were engaged in the thickest of the encounter, and covered themselves with glory. They, under Admiral Howard's direction, destroyed and sank a large number of the clumsy Spanish ships.

In recognition of Drake's wonderful achievements, he was raised to the rank of Admiral, by Queen Elizabeth. A few years later Admiral Drake fell under the displeasure of Royalty and was shorn of his honors for six years; however he was again restored to the rank of Admiral, and did much valuable service for the English government.

CHAPTER X

VITUS BEHRING

THE northwest sealing expeditions were the talk of the times, as sealing appeared to be the most lucrative occupation in which one could engage. The sea-otter had been discovered in the Pacific not far from the junction of the Asiatic and American coasts. The sea-otter carried the most valuable fur, so far found, and Peter the Great, of Russia, was very anxious to get into that field by a shorter route than around Cape Horn. Peter believed that there was an open channel between Asia and America through which ships could pass to the otter fields in Alaskan waters. So Peter concluded to send out an expedition that would outrank anything of the kind ever undertaken by man. Should he find a navigable channel in the north he could, like Spain and Portugal, possess a trade route all his own, and a great deal shorter than around Cape Horn. No doubt Peter remembered the story of Marco Polo who as heretofore stated, passed through an opening into what we now call the Pacific Ocean. Polo, undoubtedly, passed through Behring strait. From the day of Marco Polo, hundreds of bold vikers attempted to follow the same route but failed to accomplish the feat, and lost their lives in the effort. However, Peter believed that if Polo could go through a channel then Behring could find it by way of Kamchatka and complete the trade route. Polo left no statement in regard to experiencing any great difficulty in either the going or returning. This voyage was in

the thirteenth century. Earthquakes or other disturbances may have caused changes in islands and channels since Polo made his voyage to China in those early times. In modern times we have, more or less, become creatures of circumstance and are inclined to let matters of great importance drift along as though fate had fixed our destiny before we were born. But when the great era of exploration was ushered in, humanity became more and more interested in trying to learn the unknown. So far, the writer has endeavored to confine this study to those explorations toward the northwest by the southern route.

But the Behring expedition will be by the northeastern route When Peter the Great determined to head off the Spanish from the northwestern route or the threatened occupation of the north Pacific country he conceived the idea of sending an exploring expedition around northeast from the northeast coast of Siberia to the northwest coast of America. The Spanish in the Pacific were pushing, periodically, far up the Mexican coast and should they find the straits of Anain they might become unwelcome competitors in the great fur fields, not only in Northwestern American waters, but in Siberian waters as well. Knowing that he himself was nearing the immortal shores and had but a short time to plan and execute, the great monarch was in a hurry to get an expedition under way as soon as possible and for the outfitting, to be completed. Having no man in his realm whom he considered competent for exploring the frozen regions, therefore, Peter sent to Denmark for one Vitus Behring with whom he was acquainted, whom

he had previously employed and who had spent some years in the frozen regions of Siberia. Behring also was quite a geographer for the times. And further, Behring was a man of extra strong constitution, absolutely honest and capable. But not being Russian born, Peter had to, technically, place him second in command. The distance by water and land across Siberia was no less than seven thousand miles at the latitude of fifty degrees north, before reaching America in the Arctic Circle The preparations for this expedition were the most prodigious so far, undertaken for exploration. At this time there was a continent marked on the maps laying to the south, supposed to be a mate to South America, from fifty north latitude, called "Gamaland" which Peter was very anxious to possess for the purpose of Russian farming or for the banishment of evil doers, in place of Siberia. This would give the Russians autocratic power over nearly or quite one half of the then known world. Great was the scheme and greater the prospective glory for Peter. Incidently, gold was to be taken from any aborignal inhabitants, in exchange for useless trinkets and old clothing. Iron junk was to be bartered for the most valuable furs and sea-otter skins, a million dollar's worth for a mere pittance. No time should be lost for the French were also reaching across the Atlantic and possibly into the Pacific. Peter's health was rapidly failing, so all plans must be matured before the gaunt reaper should call for the greatest Monarch of all time, to give an account of how he had marshalled his forces for the benefit of mankind. The Czar's instructions were short and comprehensive,

even if not impossible of fulfillment. Only a few week's before his death they were written out with his own hand, at Kamchatka, on the eastern shore of the Pacific. (A sick man, the Czar of Russia, six thousand miles from home sounds like a very unreasonable story.) Behring's instructions were as follows: "First, build two boats. Second, with these sail northward along the coast. Third, you are to inquire where the American coast begins, write it down. Fourth, obtain reliable information, then chart the coast and return." Peter's vision of world conquest was akin to those of Wilhelm just before the World War began in 1914, but it took a much longer time for the vision to disappear. Peter did not live to learn of the great fiasco that followed the attempted execution of his scheme. Many Danes had previoulsy been employed in the Russian army and in Russian enterprises. Peter had formed a wonderful attachment for the honesty and capabilities of Vitus Behring, and fully believed that Behring could carry out his plans, if any one could. Behring had been, at one time, in the service of Peter for five years and he knew Behring to be a bold, hardy and efficient landsman as well as a splendid seaman. Behring knew the North Pacific nearly as well as did Captain Cook later. These northern straits and the "Gamaland" were in the offing. Peter's own people remonstrated. "Kamchatka is on the Pacific" they said "and six thousand miles away over great rivers and high mountains. It will take three years to transport, amid snow and ice, the necessary equipment for such an enterprise. Timber must be cut for the building of the ships and transported to

the Pacific." More than one thousand horses will be required for the caravans alone." But what could be gained by arguing with a dying man?

Let the reader imagine the hundreds of tons to be carried six thousand miles, mostly by land, before the day of railroads or paved highways. A stupenduous proposition. But Vitus Behring assailed the task with enthusiasm and delight. It took an army of mountain men to keep back the packs of howling wolves when once on the way. The story of the trip is long and tedious so we leave most of the story to the imagination of the reader. "LaSalle and Laverndyre ascended the St, Lawrence, crossed the inland plains rafted down the inland rivers with their mighty tide and swirls, but LaSalle stopped at the mouth of the gulf of Mexico and Laverndyre was checked by the barriers of the Rockies. Lewis and Clarke accomplished yet more, after ascending the Missouri and traversing the mountains, descended the mighty Columbia, but were stopped by the Pacific. Behring crossed the rivers and mountains of two continents, Europe and Asia, with his tremenduous equipment for a distance of six thousand miles, and even then he had gotten only a good start, for his ships must be assembled, made sea-worthy and loaded for the long sea voyage, half way around the northern peak of the world.

When the ships were launched and loaded the sails were set for the Arctic Ocean. It was well along in 1741. The long trip to the Arctic was finally made after many, many hardships, untold sufferings, and many deaths. Behring sailed through the strait out

into the Arctic Ocean, but became so badly bewildered among the net work of islands about Alaska, that he made no further attempt to reach the Pacific Ocean, but sailed back through the strait and returned to Kamchatka.

Behring was severely criticised for returning without further exploration of the coast line according to his instructions.

So again the next year, Behring made the second attempt to explore the country about the strait. This time he sailed past the Artic and out in the Pacific and on to the 60th degree which is well down toward British Columbia. Then turning toward the northwest he sailed back to the Alaskan peninsula. There are conflicting stories as to whether Behring ever returned to Russia after this second voyage. After the voyages of Vitus Behring, there were many voyages made to Alaska in the interest of the fur traders.

The most interesting reading of which one can engage is to be found in the history of Alaska, little of which reflects credit on the Russian name. The most heartless and diabolical acts known in the world's history, can be found in this Russian exploration. But in this work we are only interested in the effect these Russian explorations had on our northwest.

The Russians took possesssion of Alaska and held it until President Grant purchased the whole Alaskan country for fifteen millions of dollars, thus getting the Russians entirely out of America. While Alaska was the apple in the Russian eye, the Russians operated down our coast as far as San Francisco in Mexico and had serious designs on all the territory comprised in

the Oregon country. They traded much with the Spanish in Mexico, and their ships quite regularly were plying up and down our coast. During the regime of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon country, they were carrying on trade with the Russians in the exchange of products, advantagious to both parties. All that remains to Russia to this day, of what Behring accomplished, is the glory of the discovery of the strait between Asia and America. True, the United States, under President Grant's administration, paid the Russian government fifteen million for Alaska, and have reaped a wonderful harvest from her waters.

Behring suffered the fate of thousands of bold and fearless explorers during the last dozen centuries. Behring measures fully up to the best of them when measured by the difficulties which he overcame, by the duties desperately impossible to be accomplished though plainly and doggedly attempted in the very teeth of heroic death.

Behring's expedition to the northwest is without a parallel in the annals of any of the expeditions on record. The pelts secured on the expedition proved to be superior to any found elsewhere, Siberia not excepted. Very little is known of the ancestry of Vitus Behring, only that he was from the hardy Danish stock and that he lived in the time when "men were made of iron and ships of wood."

In Laut's Vikings, we find the following estimate of the northern explorers. "They were not anaemic, those old sea voyagers of the Pacific, daring death or devil with the red blood of courage in their veins and

the red blood of lawless manhood, too. They were not men of the milk and water type with a little good and a little bad. Neither in their virtues nor their vices were they luke-warm; but they did things, those men; added to the sum total of human effort, human knowledge and human progress.

"Sordid their motives might have been, sordid as the blacksmith's when he smashes his sledge on the anvil; but from the anvil of their hardships, from the clash of the primordial warfare between the spirits of the elements and the spirit of man, struck out some sparks of the Divine. There was the courage as dauntless in the teeth of the gale as in the face of death. There was the yearning to know more, to seek it, to follow it over earth's ends, though the quest led to the abyss of a watery grave.

"What did they want, those fool-fellows, following the rush-light of their own desires? That is just it. They did not know what they sought, but they knew there was something just beyond to be known; and because man is man, they set out on the quest of the unknown; chancing life and death for the sake of a little gain to human progress. It is the part of the heroic ages, and to that era belongs the history of the Vikings."

We are now ready to introduce to the reader the world-renowned Captain James Cook, an English navigator in the latter part of the 16th century. It will be pertinent to give the story of the Captain's third voyage of discovery in considerable detail, as the Captain contributed much information about the northwest. He spent much time exploring the coast

from California to Alaska. Cook was a bold, intrepid and enterprising seaman of great ability and self acquired education. He figured in many discoveries in the Pacific Ocean.

Read his story in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

WE wish to inquire into, and make some observations on the conditions which led the English government to outfit Captain Cook for that notable voyage of discovery around the world, this being his third and last great voyage, the voyage in which he lost his life in the most tragical manner, after crowning his name with immortal glory.

James Cook was born October 27, 1728 at Cleveland Hills, in the little village of Marton. He was born of very humble parents who were unable to give their son sufficient education for any calling, craft or lucrative employment. However, the elder Cook and wife were industrious, people of honesty and sobriety, members of the established Christian faith. The occupation of husbandry had long been followed by the Cook family.

When the subject of this sketch was old enough to enter school, he was sent for a short time to the village school, where he learned to read and write and acquired a knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. James was making fair progress in his studies up to the age of thirteen, when his father bound his son to a shopkeeper at a village called "Staithes," in which the principal business was fishing.

One can hardly imagine a more unattractive occupation, for a youth, than that of a small storekeeper in a village devoted to such a calling. Is it any wonder that the boy became dissatisfied, almost from the

start, especially when he had to run on chores from early morn to late in the evening, after sleeping on a hard bed under the counter, with no prospects for betterment, saying nothing about hard food and no decent companionship.

After five long, tedious years of endurance, these conditions became so intolerable that one morning James was missing. When the shopkeeper arose from his slumbers, he found that the fire had not been built, the floor had not been swept, and everything about the store was in the same topsy turvy condition in which it had been left in the evening. The irate shopkeeper immediately got out his strap which he always used on such occasions. But no boy was found to receive the castigation. Diligent inquiry failed to get any information as to the boy's whereabouts.

James had gone to Whidby, a sea port town where were many coaling ships. He went aboard a ship belonging to two brothers, named Walker. From this time until James Cook was twenty-seven years old, we are told by historians, no records have been found that throw any light upon these nine or ten years of his life. It appears to be a fact that he spent these years in seafaring, either with the Walkers or other ship owners, as, when light is again thrown upon his career, he is known as Captain Cook.

When he emerged from these years of oblivion, the boy had developed into a man, well informed in nautical matters. He also had learned the life of a fearless navigator and was able to take a ship anywhere that navigation was possible. The hardships of the seafaring life were far preferable to a bed under the counter and the shopkeeper's chastising strap.

Possibly Cook was on that collier thirteen or fourteen years, to 1755, at which time war was declared between England and France. James Cook immediately applied to the government for a position of sea-captain. His application was promptly accepted.

Captain Cook was given command of the Mercury, with orders to join the English fleet, then engaged in the siege against Quebec. The Mercury came to North America, where she joined the fleet which was, with the land forces, engaged in the prolonged siege. Captain Cook was ordered to take the soundings of the St. Lawrence River, one of the most difficult and dangerous tasks at hand. The object in taking these soundings was to test the feasibility of putting the fleet in a better position to storm the French fortifications.

Captain Cook performed this task, under great difficulties, in such a satisfactory manner that he was thereafter looked upon as one of the foremost, capable captains of the English navy. Although Captain Cook was, at one time, surrounded by the French and Indians and with his only course of escape to leap into the river and swim to the opposite shore, losing his vessel, he later succeeded in accomplishing the soundings. This work was of great help in assisting the English to carry the French fortifications.

The loss of the vessel was amply compensated by the advantage of possessing a chart of the river in the immediate vicinity of the fortifications. Cook presented his admiral with a true, correct and complete draft of the channel and soundings, although he hardly "used his pencil and knew nothing of drawing." "But

such was his capacity that he soon became the master of every object to which he applied his attention."

Captain Cook was then immediately employed in further mapping the intricate channels of the St. Lawrence River. This work was so nearly correct that Cook's charts are still adhered to.

After the French war was concluded, the English government ordered Captain Cook to return to the West, where he was employed for a time about the different ports, making maps and charts of the various harbors, for the information of the British Admiralty. This work, Cook accomplished in a satisfactory manner to his superiors.

"On September 22, 1759, Cook was made master of the Northumberland, man-of-war bearing the Admiral's flag, and was located for the winter at Halifax. On the return of spring, Cook sailed for England and was married to one Elizabeth Batts, an amiable and deserving lady, who was justly entitled to enjoy his tender affections."

While in Halifax during the winter, it is said that Cook made good use of his time in studying Euclid, astronomy, and other branches of science. The government found him well versed in scientific subjects, mostly pertaining to nautical learning and astronomy.

Captain Cook was instructed to proceed to Newfoundland and observe the eclipse of the sun on August 5, 1766, and to get the correct longititude of the place.

This was only twenty-five years after the ignorant boy left the dirty fish town to seek employment he knew not where. There are certainly few parallels in

the world to this case. Not one boy in a million has or ever will make such a record under the boyhood handicaps that hampered this youth. With pluck, patience, pererverance, grit, energy and good health, any boy can accomplish wonders in this old world.

One of the objects of this book is to show the kind of men who were the great discoverers, not only in geography, but in the other sciences, as well as to learn what possibilities there are in boys. But few of them realize their powers and abilities to overcome handicaps.

The captain again returned to England in 1767, at a very opportune time. There had been few discoveries in the Pacific for more than one hundred years. The great victory of the English over the French had put England to the front. She was now the undisputed ruler in the Atlantic, and why not vie with the Spanish in the Pacific, where all efforts at discovery had lapsed into lethargy. Nothing new had occurred in that quarter of the globe, as said before, for more than one hundred years, while all the country from the forty-second parallel of north latitude to near the sixtieth degree was really unknown to the civilized world. True, Francis Drake had sailed up the northwest coast of America to the forty-third or forty-fourth parallel in further search of the supposed northwest passage to the Atlantic

Through Drake's discoveries England had acquired a fair knowledge of the extent of the northwest coast, but had not entirely given up the hope of the existence of a practical passage to the Atlantic or Arctic in those northern regions. England now

determined to take a hand in further explorations in the northwest. Captain Cook's brilliant achievements were a sufficient guarantee that he was the proper man for such an expedition. For years, England had been publishing a standing offer of twenty thousand pounds to the person who might discover that fabled Strait of Ainan. Cook's previous voyages had set at rest the supposed southern continent, Gamaland; but the northwest passage was a burning issue, as it had been of yore. The route around the Cape of Good Hope was one of peril and long distances, and very expensive on account of the time consumed in going and coming. The English government fitted out two of her best ships for such an expedition, and put them in the hands of Captain Cook; the "Resolution," 462 tons; and the "Discovery," 300 tons.

As to how Cook came to be chosen for the command, Barrow's History (page 295) says:

"As an honorable testimony, however, to his merit and knowledge, it was resolved to ask his advice respecting the most proper person to be entrusted with the conduct of this voyage; and to determine this point, some of the most distinguised naval characters were invited to meet Captain Cook at the house of Lord Sandwich, who then presided over the Board of Admiralty.

"While the conversation became animated on the subject, Cook's mind was fired with the magnitude of the design, and the consequences likely to result from it. He suddenly started up under the impression of a noble enthusiasm, and offered his best services to direct the important subjects in view. No proposal

could have been more grateful. Captain Cook was immediately invested with the command."

The following letter from the Admiralty Records is self-explanatory.

Admiralty Office 10 feb. 1776.

"Sir:—Having understood that their Lordships have ordered two ships to be fitted out for the purpose of making discoveries, further in the Pacific Ocean, I take the liberty, as their Lordships, when they were pleased to appoint me a captain in Greenwich Hospital, were, at the same time, pleased also, to say, it should not be in prejudice to any further offer which I might make of my service, to submit myself to their directions, if they see fit to appoint me to the command on the said intended voyage; relying, if they condescend to accept this offer, they will on my return, either restore me to my appointment to the Hospital, or procure for me such other mark of royal favour as their Lordships, upon the review of my past services, shall think me deserving of. I am, Sir, your most humble servant. James Cook.

"To George Jackson, Esq."

The services that Captain Cook had already rendered to his country caused the Admiralty to look for a younger man to take charge of the expedition, thinking Captain Cook would rather rest on the honors he had already attained. But when the captain made his offer so enthusiastically, there was no way of rejecting the offer without mortally offending him. Well they knew that Captain Cook was a man of the greatest ability in the English navy, and felt that the expedition was in the best possible hands.

Captain Cook was put in command of the Resolution, and Captain Clerke in command of the Dis-

covery. Immediately, preparations were begun to put every thing in readiness for sailing, but the preparations were not completed until the 14th of July, just ten days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence in America, the news of which had not yet reached the Mother County. The government had no way of recalling Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, when the news of the declaration reached England, or most likely these captains would have taken a part in the war and the expedition been postponed for at least eight years, if not altogether.

Many causes intervened to retard the speed of the ships on their course, such as sickness, accidents and trouble with the natives of islands heretofore discovered, and those discovered on this expedition. Many new ones were visited for the first time by the white man, so that much time had been consumed, more than expected. The captain concluded that he could accomplish but little until spring opened. He stopped at New Holland where he remained until January 30, 1777, when the ships sailed on for the great northwest, bent on finding that hoped-for northern passage and the twenty thousand pound sterling prize.

After sailing for many weary months to the northwest, and making many discoveries of varying importance, "it was not until the 18th of January, 1778, that he encountered the Hawaiian group of islands, making thus one of the most important discoveries in the Pacific. Upon these he bestowed the name of Sandwich Islands, out of courtesy to the first Lord of the Admiralty," the Earl of Sandwich, who was at that time head of the Board of Admiralty. After

this time, every vessel sailing from the east or west called at the Sandwich Island, until Honolulu became known the world over as a haven of rest for the weary mariner.

The reader will remember that Francis Drake sailed up the coast of New Albion (California) to the forty-third degree of north latitude. It would appear that Cook was figuring on striking New Albion about in the same latitude.

Let us quote from Captain Cook's diary

"We had on the 25th day of February reached the latitude of 42°, 30′, and the longtitude 219, and then we began to meet with the rock-weed, mentioned by the writer of Lord Anson's voyage, under the name of sea-leek."

The reader will remember that the Mexican government had, by this time, established the north line of Mexico at the forty-second degree of north latitude, and Captain Cook was without doubt cognizant of this fact; hence there was no object in striking further south than the Mexican line. But let us continue with the quotation.

"On the 6th of March, at noon, being in latitude 44°, 19′ N., and longitude 234 and half E. we saw two seals and several whales; and at daybreak the next morning the long-looked-for coast of New Albion was seen trending from northeast to southwest, ten or twelve leagues distant."

Then Captain Cook gives quite a description of the appearance of the coast line which tallies very well with that given by Francis Drake more than one hundred years before.

Captain Cook says in his diary (log), "The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hills and valleys, and almost everywhere covered with wood. There was, however, no striking object on any part of it, except one hill, whose elevated summit was flat. This bore east from us at noon. At the northern extreme the land formed a point, which I called Cape Foulweather, from the very bad weather we soon after met with. Our difficulties now began to increase, and it was not until after being unprofitably tossed about for a fortnight that we saw land on the morning of the 22d of March, 1778.

"At this time we were in latitude 47°, 5′ north and in longitude of 235°, 10′ east, and about four leagues from land which extended from north to south-east half east. A small round hill which had the appearance of being an island, bore north three quarters east, distant six or seven leagues, as I guessed: it appears to be of a tolerable height, and was just to be seen from the deck. Between this island or rock, and the northern extreme of the land, there appeared to be a small opening which filled us with hopes of finding a harbour. These hopes lessened as we drew nearer; and at last, we had some reason to think the opening was closed by low land. On this account I concluded the point of land to the north of it should be called Cape Flattery. There is a round hill of moderate height over it; and all the land upon this part of the coast is of a moderate and pretty equal height, well covered with wood, and had a very pleasant and fertile appearance. It is in this very latitude where we now are that geographers have placed the

pretended Strait of Juan de Fuca. We saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that anything of the kind ever existed."

We have been quoting freely from Captain Cook's annals, for the reason that England based her contentions for priority of discovery of the Oregon Country on the annals of Drake and Cook.

Upon drawing nearer to land, Cook found it to be inhabitated, and he hastily proceeded to make a thorough examination of the coast and found that he was in a sound, around which were many native habitations. The natives swarmed about for trade and appeared to be very much like the New Zealanders in appearance, and their language was very similar, and even their manufactured articles were of the same general pattern. After remaining in the sound for a considerable time, the Captain returned to the sea and continued his northern voyage. It seems very singular, indeed, that Captain Cook, like the earlier navigators, should so accurately describe the landscape about the cape at the confluence of the Columbia with the ocean and not observe the river or its opening to the sea. To many, this appears to be providential, as though Providence was holding this discovery for a more propitious time in the interest of the American people.

After a very profitable stay of a few weeks in the sound country, bartering with the Indians, the captain again turned the prows of his ships toward the north.

"Monday the 7th of August, 1778, before noon, we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon

like that reflected from ice, commonly called blink." Thus the captain records his first impressions upon reaching the real frozen North. Then, the log of the Resolution very clearly gives a full account of every important circumstance of the northern cruising in search of the supposed passage between America and Asia. This account is very interesting, indeed, and might very profitably be read in connection with this story. It shows Captain Cook as a man of wonderful resources of mind and calculations. He made a close inspection of the coast line, both of America and Asia in the region of Behring Strait, but did not fully determine the fact of an open channel through into the North Sea. On the 9th of August, 1778, Cook reached the highest point reached by Behring in 1742.

The winter was so far advanced that Captain Cook concluded to return to the Sandwich Islands for the winter and return earlier in the next season. However, the ship's company had made friends with many of the native tribes, which would be of much importance to the expedition next year.

The captain, also, met the Russians who had made a settlement in Alaska and entrusted them with a long report for the English crown, of his discoveries and much other valuable information acquired on the voyage, and his plans for next season, together with an account of his visit with the Russians. From his own investigations and information from the Indians and Russians, Captain Cook made, also, a good sketch of Alaska and the northern coast line. The Russians faithfully carried out their contract and delivered the valuable information to the English

Admiralty, which was received long before the return of the expedition.

"On the 1st of December, 1778, the return trip to the Sandwich Islands was begun. Before reaching Owhyhee, several more of the Sandwich group were discovered. Let us now quote the account of Captain Cook himself.

"The three days were spent in running down the south-east side of the island. On the 5th of January, 1779, in the morning, we passed the south point of the island. On this there stands a pretty large village, the inhabitants of which thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. It was not possible to keep the latter from coming aboard. This country, from its appearance, did not seem capable of affording any vegetables. Marks of having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano, everywhere presented themselves. The devastation that it made everywhere in the neighborhood was visible to the naked eye. Between ten and eleven next morning, we saw with pleasure, the Discovery coming round the south point of the island; and at one in the afternoon joined us. Captain Clerke then coming on board, informed me that he had cruised four or five days where we were separated, and then plied round the east side of the island, but that meeting with unfavorable winds, he had been carried some distance to the coast. He had one of the islanders on board all this time, who had remained from choice and refused to leave the ship, though opportunities had offered. For several days, as usual we had been standing off and on with occasional visits from the natives. At daybreak as usual,

seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship, to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all points so that before ten o'clock there were more than a thousand about the ships, most of them crowded with people, and all laden with hogs and other productions of the island. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder. He was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought it a good opportunity to show these people the use of firearms, and two of the muskets and as many four-pounders were fired over the canoe which carried the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening, Mr. Bligh returned and reported that he had found a bay, in which was a good anchorage and fresh water. Here I resolved to carry the ships to refit, and supply ourselves with every refreshment the place could afford. Numbers of our visitors requested permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the motive of some, at least, for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night. At eleven o'clock the next forenoon we anchored in the bay, which is called by the natives Karakakooa. The ships continued to be crowded with natives and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere in the course of my voyages seen such a body of people assembled in one place. For beside those assembled in the canoes, all the shores were covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the

ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of the scene.

"Few now lamented that we had failed in our endeavors to find a northern pasage homeward last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands and enrich our voyage with a discovery, which though the last, seemed in many respects, to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the Pacific Ocean." (Here Captain Cook's journal ends.)

The remaining transactions were related by Captain King.

The conflict became quite general with the natives and expeditionists who were on shore, and in the melee Captain Cook was stabbed in the back and killed and carried away by the natives. For the next week or more, Captain Clerke of the Discovery, who had assumed the management of the expedition, stood off and on, for two reasons: to dicker with the Islanders for the recovery of the remains of Captain Cook, and to get a sufficient quantity of fresh water for the voyage home, as Captain Clerke and the other officers concluded best to make no further effort to look for that supposed northern passage.

After long and dangerous efforts, the body of the lamented captain was recovered and given a Christian burial. The water tanks were finally filled, and the home journey was resumed with sadness.

The whole lamentable occurence of the death of the captain and the recovery of his remains is detailed in the history of Cook's voyages by M. B. Synge.

Captain Cook was slain on the 14th day of February, 1779, just eighty years to a day, before the Congress adopted the state of Oregon into the union, and sixty-four years before the Oregon Country was organized under law at Champoeg, May 2, 1843.

It was not until the 15th day of March that the expedition really got under way for the homeward journey.

Captain Clerke began, as day after day passed, to feel that he should make one more effort to find that northern passage, as the distance would be so very much shorter via Baffin's or Hudson's Bay. So, as he advanced on his way, he turned his prows toward the north.

After visiting the coast of Kamchatka and getting information from the Russians, the captain continued to the northward, until the 13th of July. They now found their ships encased in a solid ice-field. So it became necessary to back out. For five days the ships stuck fast in the ice. "It is now impossible to proceed farther to any distance to the north," wrote Captain Clerke, in his records. "It is believed, as it now is, an insurmountable barrier to every attempt that we can possibly make. I therefore think the best step that can be taken, for the good of the service, is to trace the sea over on the Asiatic coast and try to see if I can find any opening that will admit of my farther advance north, and if not, to see what more is to be done upon that coast, where I hope (yet I cannot much flatter myself) to meet with better success, for the sea is so much choked with ice that a passage, I fear is totally out of the question."

Captain Gore was sent out to the Asiatic shore as far north as possible, but soon returned with the report that the ice was fully as thick and stubborn as it is on the American coast. This report determined Captain Clerke to go, at once, down the Japanese coast and find a harbour where he could repair the ships for the return to England via the Cape of Good Hope.

About this time, the health of Captain Clerke began to fail, and he gradually grew weaker until it became necessary for him to give up his command. Captain Gore took command of the Resolution, and Captain King was given command of the Discovery. As they reached the warmer latitude, Captain Clerke's health declined so rapidly that he soon died, before reaching European waters. The ship made a nearby Portugese port along the Japanese coast. The remains of the captain were interred with fitting ceremonies, according to the Episcopal ritual. A suitable inscription, giving the various achievements of his life, and services to the crown, was placed on a simple tablet at his tomb.

On December 1, 1779, the anchors were again weighed, and the ships sailed away to the south, landing again at Canton. Quite a stay was made at this greatest of cities, giving the officers and men an opportunity to observe the scenes which fascinated Marco Polo five hundred years before.

The homeward journey was again resumed, and on the 12th of June, 1780, the equator was crossed for the fourth time since leaving England, with four months of sailing still ahead of them before the officers

or men could grasp the hands of their well-wishers for the journey. Weary, anxious months these were. On October 22, 1780, four years, two months and twenty-two days had been consumed by the expedition. Upon arrival home, it was learned that only Mrs. Cook was surviving, of the Cook family. Worried and tired out, she was an object of pity. The youngest son had been lost from a man-of-war. The eldest son, master of the Spitfire, a war sloop, was blown out to sea in a storm and failed to return. The third had sickened and suddenly expired. And now Mrs. Cook received the sad news that her husband had met a horrible death. With this last shock, she was almost driven to desperation. However, she rallied from these shocks and lived to a good old age, dying in 1835.

This voyage was one of the most profitable voyages of exploration ever undertaken by any nation. Although the prime object was not accomplished as hoped for, still, many valuable acquisitions were made to the knowledge of the world. Although the matter of a northwest passage was not determined, yet the information was obtained that, should a navigable passage be found, it would be of small value to the shipping interests of the world on account of the very short season of possible entrance. It was almost past human comprehension to realize the vast treasure and human energies exhausted in the many attempts to determine the truth in regard to the junction of America and Asia in the north Pacific Ocean. We will devote another chapter to this question in order to tell the story of John Ledyard which is one of the strangest ever enacted in the annals of human history.

CHAPTER XII

JOHN LEDYARD

THE subject of this chapter, John Ledyard, was one of the most unique characters that ever graced this old world, or employed the pen of man in historical account. In his later years, Ledyard was so wonderfully absorbed in the matter of exploration that he could think of little else.

Ledyard was born in Groton, Connecticut, opposite New London. His people were from London, England. From early childhood, John was a dreamer. Schemes of every imaginative kind were racing through his brain. He was unbidable, unreliable, unsteady, but had a wild thirst for information, of any character. He wished to learn whatever others knew, and was eager to acquire knowledge in general.

His parents could do little or nothing for him. They wished to have him learn a profession, but that kind of study and application did not suit his restless character, as he wanted to acquire by hasty absorption, not by hard study. John's parents and close relatives became disgusted and tabooed him altogether. Figuratively speaking, they kicked him out into the cold world without a penny. John left the home not knowing where he was going or where he would "fetch up" or what he would be, only knowing that he wanted to reach relatives in London, England, who might become interested in him and help him reach fame in some way. His own people would not assist him, maybe new-found relatives in the old

country might do for him what those who knew him from infancy would not.

In the meantime, his father died, but that did not help his case. John was practically an outcast. Even his mother could not or would not assist him. He tried to study law, but such study was tame to his restless spirit. Had John Ledyard been born in this age, he would have been an aviator, and possibly a second Lindberg. The boy had brains, but they were in the formative state, not settled down. He forgot nothing and devoured everything that he could get by observation or by easy absorption.

John's mother, finally showing the feelings of a mother, let the hard words she had uttered be forgotten. She prevailed in getting John to study for a missionary to the Indians. By the patient entreaties of his mother, John made one more effort to settle down to study and listen to lectures showing the life and work with the natives. Reading and sitting down to listen to lectures did not suit John's impulsive nature. Action was what he needed, and action was what he must have. Dartmouth College was the rendezvous of missionaries, but this school-life was fatiguing to young Ledyard. He must be on the move. John left the school, but dared not go home to his mother. The question of food and clothes stared him in the face. What could a penniless youth do in a strange atmosphere? We must wait and see.

One day, John appeared on the streets of New London, Connecticut, met a friend, and they found a ship, which, in time, would reach London. John applied to the captain for a berth as cabin boy. That

place was already filled, but the captain took John as an errand boy for odd jobs. John reached London at the age of twenty-five, ragged and dirty, with empty pockets. He hunted up his relatives, believing that when he told his story, they would supply him with means to enter into some enterprise. But to John's surprise, the relatives looked upon him as an imposter, or a worthless fellow, trying to filch money for drink or something of the sort. The ancestral Ledyard had never heard of the young Ledyard of New London.

At this time London was all agog on the subject of explorations. Captain Cook was home from his second expedition of discovery, and was about to start on his third voyage, this time to explore the western shore of North America, and find America's northern limits. As all this came to the ears of John Ledyard, he looked up the office of the Admiralty, met Captain Cook and applied for enlistment as a common sailor, and was accepted. He went with the Captain, witnessed the discovery of the hundreds of islands, saw Captain Cook foully murdered at the Sandwich Islands by the vicious natives, made the acquaintance of Robert Gray and James Vancouver, both of whom were on board as employees under Captain Cook.

Ledyard's attention was greatly absorbed by the contemplation of the immensity of the earth's surface. After the return of the Cook voyage, Ledyard continued to serve out the term of his enlistment for service in the English navy, which lasted two years after the return of the Cook voyage. During this time and before his

term had quite expired, he was put on a battleship and sent to America to fight against his own countrymen. While his ship was lying off Long Island, he asked for and received a furlough for one week, during which time he made a bee-line to his mother's home, knocked at the door and was admitted as a lodger for the night, not being recognized, which was fortunate, as the house was full of British spies.

After nighfall and after the guests had retired, Ledyard quietly arose and went to his mother's private apartment and found her reading. He took her hand and said, "Look at me and see if you can recognize me." One look was enough. She shut the door; and what was said or done will forever remain a closed book.

Ledyard never returned to the marines, but went to Hartford, where he wrote an account of "Cook's Third Voyage." Then he used all his strength and knowledge in an effort to secure a ship with which to explore the American coast from Mexico to Alaska. This was in 1782, ten years before Gray sailed on his successful voyage of discovery for Bulfinch, and twenty years before Jefferson thought of sending out Lewis and Clarke to find the great river of the West.

Many hindrances troubled Ledyard. These were troublous times. The united Colonies were suffering from the throes of the Revolution. Ledyard's enthusiasm, great as it was, failed to enlist the necessary interest to induce public or private capital in such a venture. The new American government, as it was, had its hands full at home, without expending time and money in adventures to acquire more terri-

tory. There were no expansionists in America at that time. Ledyard was years too early for accomplishing or even attempting explorations in the interest of the new government.

When Ledyard told of the immense wealth the Russians were gaining, in securing furs, his old captain, Deshon, whose ship carried him to Plymouth, grew chary of such roseate "prospects." For six long months the crazy Ledyard beseeched the wealthy men of New York and Philadelphia for funds. Even the great financier, Robert Morris, who had risked so much in the late Revolution, became interested, but could find no skipper who would risk his ship or even his life in such an adventure. Ledyard had now exhausted his exchecquer, but his enthusiasm was gaining strength every moment. Captain Cook's expedition was enlisting now, everywhere, the fullest attention. The world was just becoming familiar with the particulars of the great voyage. Although Cook and Clerke had both lost their lives, that did not matter. The people were all astir, both in England and Russia. America had a fast friend in France.

Ledyard was told to go to France for help. The Russians had employed Joseph Billings, Cook's astronomer, and were planning to send out an expedition for exploring and claiming all the coast from Alaska south to Mexico.

In England and India, private adventurers were flocking. Mears, Dixon and Barclay were fitting out ships for trade with the Indians of the Northwest.

Some sympathizer advised Ledyard to go to France and try his hand there. The hint or suggestion was

all he needed to set him in motion, and with money a friend loaned to him, the enthusiast was, in a jiffy, off for Paris. There Ledyard met Paul Jones and Thomas Jefferson. To them, he displayed his enthusiasm for the marvels of wealth in the north Pacific. Jefferson became greatly interested, but he was the American Minister at Paris and could, therefore, do nothing for him. However, Ledyard's enthusiasm took deep root in the mind of Jefferson.

But Ledyard was more successful, at first, with Paul Jones, the American naval hero of 1777, as Jones loaned him money and promised to take out a ship for him the following year, and even went so far as to arrange all the details, even to the sale of the furs in China. Jones was to have full charge in disposing of the furs, and Ledyard was to remain in the field collecting furs for another trip. Jones was depending on the assistance of the United Colonies of America in the project. But, on hearing from America that Ledyard was considered an "unreliable enthusiast," Jones threw up the whole scheme "in a pique."

Was Ledyard nonplussed? Not at all. He only gained enthusiasm and determination, and for a time was in daily conference with Jefferson. Ledyard would go afoot across Siberia, take a Russian vessel for Alaska, if only, Jefferson could get for him a passport from the Empress of Russia by whom he was given money.

He found some Englishmen who became very much interested in him. These men had been friends of the late Captain Cook. They offered Ledyard a boat, which he accepted, but as he slipped down the

"Thames for shipment," the government, hearing of the arrangement, ordered the boat back, supposedly on the request of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ledyard being a deserter from the English navy was in poor shape for a contest which would expose his identity as a deserter. His only hope left to ever again reach the gold fields of Alaska was to fall back to Siberia and foot it over to the Pacific. "It is said that his friends furnished him the money to reach St. Petersburg."

Five years Ledyard had now spent in efforts to get a ship. He had tried in New York, in Philadelphia, in Paris, in London, and had met with failure. Now he was again in Paris, six thousand miles from the Pacific.

Now the reader will wonder, "What next?" It was not Ledyard to give up. He was not at his rope's end yet. Oh, no. He took new courage, muffled himself with furs and struck out on foot with his knapsack on his back, "set out in the midst of winter to tramp over land six hundred miles north to Torena, at the head of the Baltic," then six hundred miles more through Finland, to St. Petersburg. After long and vexatious waiting, Ledyard got his passports. But long before he reached the Pacific, he was arrested as a spy and taken back to St. Petersburg. Five thousand miles he had tramped, but his trip back was a sleigh-ride behind dogs.

At St. Petersburg, he was ordered away without a trial. How he got back to London, we are not told, only that he was ragged and dirty and heart-broken. "I give up," he wrote to his English friends who had

backed him with money and faith. "I give up," he wrote Jefferson. Ledyard's efforts were not lost, as he fired Jefferson to accept his plans, which resulted in the Lewis and Clarke expedition, which became a very important link in the chain of circumstances that gave to the United States the better part of the great Northwest.

The Geographical Society of London engaged Ledyard to explore the sources of the Nile. This society advanced money to Ledyard with which to pay off his debts and enter on his new project, but he never reached the Nile. He died on his way to Cairo, in November, 1788.

When Jefferson was secretary of state he talked with various persons of the desirability of an expedition across the continent. Yes, he was then fresh from Ledyard, who had enthused him to that extent that the idea remained with him until the act was accomplished, but only for educational and scientific purposes. Ledyard was the fore-runner of Jefferson. No, Ledyard's life was not a failure from a public standpoint. He pictured to Jefferson the vision of great glory that was to come to the man who would break the seal and open the Northwest to the knowledge of mankind and show its pristine beauty. Ledyard's eloquent words took deep root in the mind and heart of Thomas Jefferson.

But the British colonies, which had so recently thrown off the yoke, were not yet completely out of their swaddling clothes. While the government was interpreting the wording of the Constitution, different meanings were given to important words. For this

and other reasons, and for the lack, yet, of well defined political party lines to guide, the controversies were plentiful and to spare. Vehement words and phrases were passed from one to another in a spirit of controversy to such an extent that little time was left for discussing questions outside of immediate possibilities. As Washington's first term was drawing to a close, Jefferson obtained a leave of absence from his ministerial office in Paris, to return home. Upon his arrival he found the spirit of controversy rife everywhere. Washington plead so hard for his supersedence at Paris that he might take the portfolio of Secretary of State, that Jefferson yielded to Washington's plea, and in due time assumed the responsibilities of the most important office in the President's Cabinet. This position Jefferson held for four years, and in the election ensuing, was elected President.

CHAPTER XIII

GRAY AND KENDRICK

FROM 1725 to 1775 there was ill feeling between the various nations of the world. Spain was the autocrat of the nations and trying to dominate the western half of the globe. The Pope claimed by authority the power to apportion the nations, to suit his purposes, all the land and water on the globe, and under the authority given by St. Peter, had given to the sovereigns of Spain the western half of the world and had defined its boundary. It will be remembered that also the other one-half had likewise been given to the crown of Portugal. Poor Portugal was now rapidly failing in power, and could not enforce her claims against the power of the Russian Czar, or other nations except China and Japan, which were very much peeved by the arrogance of Spain until neither love nor respect was expected between them. England was jealous of the American Colonies and was making undue exactions from them in America.

This condition of feeling gave birth to the freebooters. Captain Drake, later Sir Francis Drake, fifty years before, had shown what could be done by boldness, bravery and craftiness. England was gradually growing in power. The Spanish were pushing toward the north along the western coast of New Spain (Mexico). Feeling between the nations was fermenting and about to come to a head when England in her Parliament passed the stamp act. The American Colonies balked at paying this new duty on tea. The

bubble burst. England and the Colonies clashed. The Colonies revolted, and for eight long years, the fairest part of America was in the hands of the fates. The Colonies prevailed; a better feeling grew up; England and France settled their differences by the sword. France sold all her possessions in America to the United States and withdrew from North America.

A few years heretofore, the fur trade had again become lively. The news of Cook's voyages had finally reached America and a new impetus had been put into the fur trade. While the fur business in America had been confined to the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean, the English in the north and the French in the south, with New York City the mart for sale and transportation, gave great publicity to the fur trade in general.

Yet no American ship had taken part in the business until about 1787, when Dr. John Bulfinch, Joseph Barrell, John Derby, Captain Crowell, Samuel Brown, and John Mandon Billard, became interested in this, apparently, lucrative business. These six men entered into a partnership with fifty thousand dollars capital for the purpose of outfitting some ships for the northern fur trade in the north Pacific. They secured and outfitted two ships for the purpose named. One was the Columbia, a full-rigged two-decker, 212 tons, eighty-three feet in length, on which they mounted ten guns. The Columbia had been in service for fourteen years. The other was a small ship for cruising along shore, gathering furs from the Indians. This was a little sloop of ninety tons, called "The Lady Washington." A young man, Robert Gray, who had

been with Captain Cook on his third voyage, was put in charge of the little craft. Captain John Kendrick of the Merchant Marine was placed on the Columbia, and given chief command of the expedition.

Captain Gray was a friend of Captain Kendrick and a native of Rhode Island. Massachusetts furnished passports, and the Spanish minister to the United States gave letters to the Viceroy of New Spain. It was quite a breach for the Spanish minister to give a letter of friendship to the Viceroy who looked upon such vessels as intruders on his preserves.

As a matter of policy, the company gave Captains Kendrick and Gray instructions to treat all nationalities with kindness and amity. It was not the intention of the company to interfere with the operations of others, but to keep a good lookout, along with the gathering of furs, for the supposed river which had long been suspected to exist about the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude, and especially to be diligent in securing a fine cargo of furs, and by all means not to give offense to rival traders or mariners. Let us quote a section or two from A. C. Laut's "Vikings of the Pacific."

"Some heroes blunder into glory, these did not. They deliberately set out with the full glory of their venture in view. Whatever accounts of profits or loss might show when they returned, they were well aware that they were attempting the biggest and most venturesome thing the newly Confederated States had attempted in the way of exploration or trade. In commemoration of this great event, medals were struck of the two vessels, in bronze, on both sides.

Both vessels were shown under full sail on one side, and on the other were the names of the members of the company.

During the last day before setting sail, the inhabitants of Boston swarmed over the ships as the sailors and their adventurers were putting the finishing touches on, arranging berths and provisions for the long voyage. When the sun rose on that beautiful September morning in 1787, the Columbia and the Lady Washington were in the rolling of the distant sea. The Bostonians were in great glee over the greatest event in the history of Boston, since the historical "Tea Party," which was the first shot to awaken old England to the importance of the colonies. Now was started the first ship to show to the world that the Stars and Stripes would claim their rights to be equal to those of the most favored nations of the land and sea.

Well might the whole country, as well as Boston, hold a holiday to celebrate the momentuous occasion. There seemed no doubt in the minds of the citizens of Boston, nor in the minds of the members of the company, that the starting of these ships on their mission was the second great event in the history of the colonies. The tea party resulted in the independence of the American states by capturing the government. And now a project had been set on foot to capture the trade of the great unexplored northwest and to show our importance on the waters of the Pacific, as well as on the Atlantic.

A few words on the personality of a few of the members of the crews: Captain Kendrick was a man

of mature years, of fine presence, ability and learning, well and favorably known. Captain Gray, of the Lady Washington, was a young man of some considerable information and fairly educated, bold and daring, not so cautious and hesitating as Captain Kendrick. Gray had, as before stated, been with Captain Cook on his voyage to the Arctic regions, and therefore was well experienced for such an adventure as planned. He had been around Cape Horn with Cook and with Captain King, around the Cape of Good Hope after the deaths of Captain Cook and Clerke. Gray knew also much about the weather to be encountered in the northern latitudes and was endowed with the push and energy which he had absorbed from Captain Cook.

Gray was the logical man for commander of the expedition, but had he been commander and on the Columbia, he most likely would not have sailed near enough to shore to have discovered the Columbia. So the old adage is again true: All is well that ends well.

These two captains started with fair prospects for a successful voyage. Every simple detail necessary to health and comfort had been provided.

The surgeon was one Dr. Roberts, whom we wish to mention hereafter.

Captain Kendrick steered directly for the Cape Verde Islands near the African coast. From thence he steered for the rounding of Cape Horn, thence up the west shore of South America. The ships rested so long at the Cape Verde Islands, taking in water and fresh provisions, that the conservative Captain Kendrick began to dread the attempt to round Cape Horn so late in the season. One writer says Kendrick's "Caution was changed to fear."

This was so different from anything ever seen in Captain Cook that Woodruff and Dr. Roberts left the ship and took passage on a freighter for Boston. They did not feel secure with such a cautious and hesitating man as the captain. Captain Kendrick was not the type of man for pioneering, who would stake all on a venture. We do not learn that Captain Kendrick mastered his fears; we only know that he continued his journey without serious mishap. Long before the North American coast was reached, the Viceroy of Mexico received instructions to ignore the entire letter given to Captain Kendrick by the Spanish representative at Washington. These letters were countermanded by the Spanish monarch, who severely reprimanded the agent at Washington for his special friendliness to the expeditioners. The King of Spain issued new instructions to his representatives in San Francisco as follows: "Whenever there may arrive at the port of San Francisco a ship named Columbia, said to belong to General Washington (spelled Wanglington) of the American States and commanded by John Kendrick, which sailed from Boston last September, (1787) bound on a voyage of discovery and examination on the north coast to the Russian establishment on the peninsula, you will cause said vessel to be secured, together with her officers and crew."

How the Spanish got this information has not been discovered. The Lady Washington proved the faster of the two ships. After coasting up the west shore of South America until reaching the latitude at which Drake had reported land, two hundred years before, on the 4th of August, 1579, land was seen as expected, the New Albion was still there, north of New Spain.

As the visibility became plainer, a long canoe plastered with gaudy designs, stem and stern, painted in gaudy colors, with ten Indians who made obeisance in a vehement manner, indicating friendship, came in sight, but as the wind was blowing a gale, it stood Captain Gray in hand to keep far from shore, so the sloop kept well out to sea. All night as the little sloop headed to the north, various campfires could be seen on the bluffs inland. For ten or more days, the north course was continued. Many Indians were seen running along the shore making gesticulations, sometimes in friendliness, offering otter skins for trade; others brandishing knives, spears and other implements of warfare.

Captain Gray was suspicious of the conduct of the savages, and watched their every movement. He cast a few presents into the sea to see the Indians scramble for them.

During adverse winds, Captain Gray passed what appeared to be an opening in the shore line, as though an esturay or river might find its way to the sea. Gray took his latitude, took a look at his chart and found that his reckoning agreed with the suppositions of Heceta who thought he saw a river. Captain Gray mused, "Can this be the fabled River of the West, the river which the Indians of the far interior said runs to the setting sun?"

Gray's whole crew were as anxious to find the river as was the captain himself. Gray had passed this latitude with Captain Cook, when just a young mariner, but had not been so near the shore as now. But as the ship was out of firewood and water, and most of

the men were down with scurvy, it was necessary that a harbor should be found where the needed supplies could be obtained and the crew recruited. This was found at Tillamook, where the Indians were exceedingly treacherous, ambushing and killing the negro boy, Lopaz, whom Captain Gray had employed at the Cape Verde Islands.

When the ship again weighed anchor, the journey was resumed, many stops being made where friendly Indians resided and were glad to trade valuable furs for useless trinkets. By the time Nootka was reached, September had come and October was nearing the end, when winter quarters would be needed. Captain Gray then concluded that he must construct a smaller vessel which could cruise along the shore in shallow water.

On anchoring at Nootka, Gray found plenty of company in the persons of English traders. Mears was there with two vessels. On September 10, 1788, the Columbia hove in sight and anchored alongside the Lady Washington.

Captain Gray now felt quite at home, as he well remembered the cruising he had done there ten years before with the world renowned Captain Cook, and now the two crews from Boston were again together. The Bostonians were very much surprised to see two English ships under Portugese colors, with cannon mounted on shore, and a thirty ton schooner, the "Northwest America," all ready to be launched. This is said to be the first ship to be built on the northwest coast. Gray built the second.

"On the 19th of September, 1788, the new ship was

launched" by Mears and Douglas, and a holiday was declared. Mears and Douglas were English capitalists but they entertained Gray and his officers without showing jealousy or ill will which might have been expected. Mears had come from China in January, and had spent the better part of the summer with Captain Barclay, also an English captain navigating and exploring the Straits of Fuca. Mears then went down south in the hope of finding the long sought river, but the weather was so stormy and the sea so rough that he came away after naming the cape which obstructed his vision, "Cape Disappointment." For he said he was now sure that the Spanish sailors who made the chart of a supposed river were in error.

Gray and Mears became quite friendly. Mears lacked supplies for his crews going to China. Gray supplied them. Mears had his men clean the keel of the Lady Washington and clean the barnacles from her hull. But Mears was true to the fur trader's code, holding back as far as possible any information of the profits to be made in the fur gathering and insisting that there were more than two thousand Indians around Nootka, ready at all times to ambush and destroy the whites on small provocation. These words were said to frighten Americans from the fur fields. "Not fifty skins a year," he said, "were to be had, only my war munitions held the Indians in check." He also said that he had purchased from the Indians the right to construct his fort, which they, the Americans, could have for firewood after he left. Mears also said that he had purchased from the Indians the right to construct other buildings, which right would be worthless

as soon as he sailed, and further, that it would not be worth while for the Americans to remain on the coast.

The Americans smiled at the childish simplicity of the air in which these remarks were expressed. But Gray could not be frightened off so easily.

Before Mears and Douglas had started, Mears offered to carry any mail that Kendrick and Gray wished to have mailed at Honolulu. The Americans accepted the generous (?) offer and assisted Mears and Douglas to get out to sea, but Mears returned the package by Douglas, without apology. His only object appeared to be to prevent the Americans from bribing one or more of his men to carry the package to Honolulu and mail it to Boston. Such was the policy of the trade. Hypocrisy in the extreme; peaceful combat—an effective policy, indeed.

When the Indians observed that all the King George men had sailed, they soon came flocking to the Americans for trade. They had observed that the Boston men were altogether different from the King George men, especially Mears and Douglas. A very brisk and lucrative trade sprang up with the Indians, and for a time, more skins and furs were taken during each day than Mears prophesied would be taken in a year.

In the spring of 1789, Gray sailed north up the Straits of Fuca, which Captain Cook had failed to find. Gray was with Cook and remembered that they did not sail up this channel, as Captain Cook reported that the Strait did not exist.

After exploring Fuca to his satisfaction, Gray again headed north. On reaching Nootka, before he got out to sea, who should he meet but Douglas, who had

returned from Honolulu, letting Mears go on to China with the furs. Douglas had obtained two ships for further explorations to the north.

As Gray left Nootka for the north, he met, about May 1st, a fine large ship with twenty guns, sailing into the harbor with Spanish colors floating from the mast. Gray came to a halt and exchanged greetings with the Spanish ship. This fine ship had been sent out by Don Joseph Martinez on his way to Behring Sea on a voyage of discovery, and was now entering Nootka to take possession in the name of Spain. Captain Gray's passports were carefully examined, but the Spaniards, finding Gray had no intention of laying claim to Nootka in the name of the United States of America and seeing Douglas with English ships anchored, concluded best to be friendly with the Americans. One pointed to the English ships, and "with a sententious air remarked to Gray: 'They will make a good prize.'" Not wishing to be a witness to any trouble between the Spanish and the English, Gray got his ship under sail as quickly as possible on his northern voyage.

Several valuable discoveries which we shall not enumerate were made by Gray that settled disputed points along the north coast. Near the place where Fort Wrangle was later built, Gray encountered a terrible storm which considerably damaged the Lady Washington. The ship was damaged to the extent that it could not be repaired short of Nootka. So Gray returned to Nootka.

Captains Kendrick and Gray had been keeping within hailing distance of each other and trading with the Indians for furs. Some of these trades were so

palpably outrageous that the reader of history will look aghast at the way the poor Indians were mistreated, and will have little wonder that they finally rebelled, put on war paint, brandished their crude weapons and set their wits to work havoc against the pale-faces. Note the following instance: On the way down to Nootka at a point off Prince of Wales Island, the traders exacted two hundred otter skins, worth $8,000, for an old iron chisel. This is only one instance. Thus the Indian was treated from the time of Columbus to the advent of the missionary, who tried to elevate the Indian instead of robbing and demoralizing him.

It was well along toward summer when the ships were again in Nootka As Captain Gray had proved himself the better navigator, the most alert and successful, Kendrick was willing to let Gray have the better ship, the Columbia, so they exchanged ships, Gray taking Haswell as mate with him in the Columbia.

As expected, Don Joseph Martinez had captured the outfit of Douglas and taken his men prisoners. Martinez now offered Gray one hundred otter skins to carry the captain and crew of the "North American" to China for the Spaniards. Gray then, July 30, 1789, left Vancouver Island for Hawaii, as he was getting short of provisions. After replenishing his stores at the island, Gray sailed for Canton, reaching there almost within four months. He disposed of his furs to Shaw and Randall of Boston, receiving tea for Samuel Parkman, at Boston. Captain Gray did not get away from Canton until along in February, 1790, and did not arrive home until about the middle of

August, going around by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and touching at St. Helena. On August 11, 1790, he reached Boston with the distinction of taking the first American ship, the Columbia, around the globe. The log showed that the ship, since leaving Boston, had sailed nearly fifty thousand miles.

As the ship docked, whistles blew, flags flew, people shouted, cannons roared a salute and all Boston went wild with jubilation. Captain Gray walked down the gang plank and up the street side by side with Otto the Hawaiian, heir to the throne of Honolulu, whom Gray had taken on the ship as a guest. Governor Hancock gave a public reception to Captain Gray. The Columbia went to the shipyards to be overhauled. In every way, the expedition had been a success, saving financially, and the failure to find the "River of the West." The market in China for furs had been glutted by recent large shipments. Although the venture had not been a financial success to the owners, still the Bostonians, caring little for that feature, were wild with enthusiasm for the new glory for their city and the United States. Burrill and Pintard sold out to Burrill and Brown, who were satisfied with their share of the glory attained, and for the ensuing interest gained for future expeditions. The partners called a meeting, promptly distributed their losses, and determined to make another effort to find that river which Gray had failed to locate. "Perhaps this time the river might be found," they said. " 'Twould be a great victory, well worthy of a second trial."

Coolidge and Ingraham concluded to withdraw from the company and make a venture on their own account to the Pacific.

Notwithstanding the loss of these worthy men, the Columbia was made ready for the second voyage to the western ocean. Haswell, who had made a faithful log of the Columbia on the other trip, went as mate with Captain Gray. George Davison, the artist whom we may notice later; Samuel Yendell, a carpenter; Haskins, an accountant; Joshua Malden; Abraham Watts and John Butt were the new men who enlisted for this second venture.

From August 11, to September 28, 1790, was rush time. On September 28, the heavy anchor was hoisted with a hurrah, and the proud Columbia took the water like a graceful swan. She glided into the harbor of Clayoquat, on the west coast of Vancouver in just nine months and seven days, a quick voyage for those times. To be exact, it was June 5, 1791, when the anchor dropped in the harbor.

When Gray left Nootka, the Indians were friendly but something had transpired in his absence. What could it have been? "Ill treatment and nothing else," said Gray. Surely Gray had been kind in his manner toward the Indians, save extortion, of which they were blissfully ignorant. To prove this great change in the attitude of these Indians read the sequil, it will tell.

Caswell, Barnes and Folger were sent up the Portland canal to reconnoiter, but they never returned. Caswell's body was found and buried, but when the place was visited later, the grave was empty. The reader is left to conjecture the cause of these murders.

Captain Kendrick, who had accompanied Captain Gray, to China but was billed to return to Nootka for another cargo of furs, had now arrived on Queen

Charlotte Island and was having a time with the Indians. From causes before stated, these Indians, as well as others, were bent on doing all the harm possible to the whites without discriminating between the King George men and the Bostons. One day when Kendrick's men had all retired below decks for a rest or a snooze, a taunting laugh was heard down the hatchway. Kendrick rushed above to find Indians scrambling over the decks of the Lady Washington like a mob determined on taking possession of the ship. A burly Indian flourished the keys of the ammunition chest, which was located near the hatchway. He said "Keys mine, so is ship." Without hesitation, Kendrick, seeing all was lost unless quick action could checkmate before the Indians had time to concentrate their actions, grabbed the leader by the neck and pitched him into the sea. In an instant, the ship's decks were clear of Indians. No harm had been done to the ship, but the captain's son was missing. An immediate search was made, which revealed his fate, as the boy's scalp was found on the deck.

Then Gray and Kendrick agreed to allow not more than ten Indians on board at one time. Although Captain Kendrick was generally slow to act, always wanting time for careful consideration before action, yet in an emergency, as just depicted, he quickly overcame his cautions and acted with speed and precision.

In later years, if Captain Thorn of the Tonquin had acted with the same caution, coupled with alacrity, he might have saved his ship, his men and himself from that awful fate. But egotism was the ruling passion, the overpowering element in Captain Thorn's character.

Captain Kendrick had established himself at Nootka by purchasing land for little or nothing. Still, he did not like the company of Spaniards who had been sent to these waters to capture ships of rival traders, so he, tiring of the conditions here, moved over to Clayoquat, where Gray found him making ready to sail for China in September. At Clayoquat they erected the first American fort on the North American coast. There Gray prepared for winter quarters. The first thing was to build a fort in order to ward off the treacherous Indians, if they should attempt to make an attack. The next thing was to build another ship for next year's trading. The Columbia was unrigged and beached. While this work of cleaning was going on, Captain Gray was diligent in making friends of the Indians, which efforts, for a time, appeared to succeed in establishing friendly relations with these ferocious savages. The ship's medicine chest furnished ease for many an ailing Indian. Many other acts of kindness were bestowed to heal the wounds and appease the minds of the Indians.

Trees were being felled in the forest. The axe, the saw and the broadaxe were singing to the tune of progress made each day. The "Adventurer" was daily and rapidly assuming form. The prospects were rosy for new equipment and lucrative trade the coming spring, when lo, Otto, the Hawaiian, came into camp with an awful story. He told that two thousand Indians were arming with at least two hundred muskets which they had secured in trade, and were planning the destruction of the Boston men, and that they had offered to make him the great Chief if he would steal

more ammunition, disable all the ship's arms and join the conspiracy, which was to enable the savages to get possession of the fort and the ship.

This was on February 18, 1792. Certainly the time was precious and critical. No adventurer had ever faced greater danger and come out unscathed. All hands, under Gray's command, went to work with a will under the direction of the impulsive and calculating captain. Let us hear the story as taken from Laut's "Vikings of the Pacific."

"Less than a score of whites against two thousand armed warriors! Scarcely any ammunition had been brought on the Columbia. All the dismantled swivels were lying on the beach. Gray instantly, taking advantage of the high tide, got the ship on her sea legs and out from the beach; the swivels were trundled, with all speed, back to the decks. For that night, a guard watched the fort. (They called the fort, 'Fort Defence'). But the night when the assault was expected, all hands were on board. Provisions had been stored in the hold and all small arms loaded.

"The men were in mid-waist in water, scraping barnacles from the keel when a whoop sounded from the shore, but a change in the ship's position evidently upset the savages, and they withdrew. On the morning of the 20th, the woods seemed to be full of ambushed men. So Haswell had the cannon loaded with canister and fired it into the woods. At eleven that very morning, the chief, at the head of the plot, came to sell otter skins and ask if some of the crew would not visit the village. Captain Gray jerked the skins from the chief's arms and the rascal was over the decks in terror of his life. That was the end of the plot."

The Adventurer, the second ship built in the north Pacific coast, was launched on the 23rd of February, 1792. By April, Haswell had his ship ready for the cruise northward. But Captain Gray was more intent on finding that "River of the West" than he was on getting otter skins. Gray most likely mused, "Let Haswell hunt for otter skins, while I am hunting for that river." So the prow of the Columbia was turned to the southward. Gray would learn the truth back of Cape Disappointment. No doubt Gray wanted to change the name of the cape from Disappointment to something nearer the truth, Satisfaction, or something more appropriate. Anyway, Gray would find the river this time, or strand the Columbia on the bar. Others had suspected that a river existed in the opening. Heceta, the Spanish explorer, was so sure that a river was behind that cape that he marked it on his map, years before. All the explorers knew about Heceta's map but no credence was put in its correctness. Not even the learned Vancouver would believe in the possibility of a river in that region, even after Gray had insisted on the probability of a river and signified his intention of making another attempt to cross the bar. Mears failed to go behind that cape; Heceta had been driven back. These points, along with his own observations, had convinced Vancouver, and no argument could move him against his fixed opinion.

Captain Vancouver had been sent out by the English crown to settle the dispute about Nootka. At six o'clock in the morning, April 29, while passing Cape Flattery, Vancouver saw a ship on the windward side

carrying American colors. He sent two of his men, Mister Paget and Mister Menzies, to investigate. They reported that Captain Gray, of the United States of America, had been off the mouth of a river at 46°, 10′, where the outset and the reflux was so strong as to prevent entering for nine days, and that Gray had been fifty miles up the Straits of Fuca. As was to be expected, Vancouver scouted the idea that he had previously made a mistake on the 27th when he especially noticed that locality. He also was peeved to learn that Gray had been exploring Fuca, as he wanted to be the first to explore these straits himself.

Heceta, the Spaniard, had in 1775, written in his log: "These currents cause me to believe the place is the mouth of some river. I did not enter and anchor there because, if we let go the anchor we had not enough men to get it up." Thirty men were down with the scurvy. "At the distance of three or four leagues, I lay to. I experienced heavy currents which made it impossible to enter the bay, as I was far to the leeward. These currents convince me, however, that a great quantity of water rushed from this bay on the ebb of the tide."

No doubt Captain Vancouver had heard often, if not read, Heceta's report or account of his impression, that the river existed in this quarter of the globe. The reader must remember that Captain Vancouver was a fine scholar and a very observing man and an expert navigator, too, but it must also be remembered that he was an Englishman as well, and did not bow to anyone's perspicuity or observations. So the great navigator would waste no time on second observations, or on improbabilities.

But Gray moved leisurely down the coast, keeping as close as practicable to the shore and trading with the Indians who swarmed around the ship when at anchor in any harbor, especially in the harbor we now call Grays Harbor. In this place, they were so persistent that they would not leave until a shot was fired, killing seven of them. On the 10th, anxious to reach 46°, 10′ latitude, he pulled out to sea again. On the 11th, Gray heard the roar and saw the mighty tide throwing high into the air great quantities of foaming water. He waited for a favorable time then set all sails hard for the bar. He soon found himself inside the bar and beholding the blue waters of a great river fighting its way to the mighty Pacific. Captain Robert Gray, an American, had outwitted the Spanish, the Russian, the Portugese, the Greeks and last and best, the English. The great mystery, "where rolls the Oregon," was settled as far as its confluence with the Pacific was concerned.

Captain Gray and his men, it seems, made no boisterous demonstrations over their great achievement—did not realize the wonderful importance of the great discovery. Gray took the find as a matter of ordinary importance, a sort of everyday occurrence. Really, when looking back from our present viewpoint, we wonder why Captain Gray failed to visualize the wonderful importance of his discovery to this God-favored land. Two hundred years, the search for the great river had been going on in an irregular way. Much treasure and many lives had been lost in the various exploring expeditions, but now the goal had been reached, the one great quest had finally succeeded.

The navigators could now turn their attention to gathering skins and fighting the Indians whom they had so cruelly mistreated.

Captain Gray quietly sailed up the river somewhere about twenty to fifty miles. No one knows exactly how far. About seventeen days were spent inside the bar. On the 19th of May, the ship was anchored and all went ashore. The men planted coins under a tree and took possession of the country in the name of the United States of America, naming the river, "Columbia," after their noble ship.

Gray crossed the bar outward on the 29th of May, continuing his trading with the Indians, calling at Nootka on his way. There he found Quadra and Vancouver trying to settle the dispute between England and Spain over Nootka. Gray freely told Vancouver all about his finding of the river. So Vancouver soon sailed to see for himself. But after taking soundings, he found that his ship was drawing too much water for the depth of the bar. So he sent Captain Broughton with the Chatham to explore the river. Broughton cruised the river up as far as the present city of Vancouver.

When the great and learned Captain Vancouver made his report to the English authorities, he failed to mention Captain Gray's entrance. So all England, for a time, rejoiced over the wonderful accomplishment of Captain Vancouver as the discoverer of the great river that for millenniums had "heard no sound, saving his own dashings." It is easy to see that England was shocked beyond expression when the truth was published to the world. Vancouver had

been sent out with instructions to keep a close lookout for any signs of an entrance into the interior. But with all his erudition, Vancouver was not a good sport in the field of competition. No wonder England claimed the discovery. The English people did not believe the story of Gray's discovery, antedating that of Broughton's entrance. Hence, the United States was not, in the English mind, entitled to claim, by discovery, any portion of the country drained by the great river. Vancouver's ignoring Gray was the ground for years of disputation between the two countries. The villifiers of Captain Gray resorted to slanderous stories against his character, trying to turn his employers against him.

It is not the intention to give this controversy further than to show up the characters of those who instigated the disputes. Some who would belittle Gray's success went so far as to say that in his eagerness for pelts, he was getting as close as possible to shore, and practically stumbled across the bar, hence would not attach any importance to the event. The reader must remember that discoveries are not made by accident. Columbus did not find the West Indies by accident. Diaz did not discover the Cape of Good Hope by accident. Balboa did not find the great Western Sea by accident. Behring did not discover the strait that carries his name by accident. No, it is not by accident that great accomplishments are achieved.

Another contention was that if Gray had not discovered the great river someone else would have done so. This foolish talk would apply to any great dis-

covery or invention. Columbus, as we have previously explained, was not the first civilized man who visited this continent, but others who had been here left no records, only "on tables of stone" as it were. Therefore Columbus was as much entitled to credit as though he were the first.

But we must now finish with Gray. After he reached Nootka, he sold his Adventurer for seventy-five otter skins. From Spanish sources, it was reported that Gray's home cargo contained over three thousand otter skins and fifteen thousand other peltries. But the Spanish were not truthful men as many of their stories were made from ulterior motives.

On October 3, 1792, the Columbia sailed from the North American coast for China and reached Boston on July 29, 1793. We have no record of the profit or loss of this second expedition. Gray was the first to carry the American colors around the world. He was not a loquacious man, but was better known by what he did than what he said. Gray, unlike Drake, Behring, Cook, Radson, Columbus, and a host of other explorers, had no government behind his operations. Really, there were only individual efforts to sustain him. What he accomplished was done by his own nerve and brain. "Authentic histories are written that speak of Gray's discovery as doubtful; yet if the world places Cook and Vancouver in the niches of naval heroes, they must place Gray there also." "The curios brought back by Ingraham on the first voyage, were donated to Harvard. Decendants of Gray still have the pictures of Davidson and Haswell on the second voyage." "The sea chest carried around the

world by Gray now rests in the keeping of an historical society in Portland, Oregon, and the feather cloak worn by the boy Otto, when he marched in the procession with Gray, is treasured in Boston."

In Laut's "Vikings of the Pacific" we find the following on page 238:

"Sometime between 1806 and 1809, Gray died in South Carolina, a poor man. It is doubtful if his widow's petition to congress ever materialized in a reward for any of his descendants. Kendrick, eclipsed by his brillaint assistant, was accidentally killed in Hawaii by the wad of a gun fired by a British vessel to salute the Lady Washington."

We think it will be interesting to show how these explorers had all been schooled in their line before the responsibilities of conducting explorations into the unknown had been thrust upon them. Vancouver was with Captain Cook during all his third voyage, as well as was Captain Gray, when they were boys or young men. And consequently they were not only acquainted with each other, but had been associated with each other for several years at least. They, no doubt, had cherished the hope that they might, some day, become noted explorers themselves. However, Gray, as we know, had never taken such matters to heart as had Vancouver. Vancouver had, from boyhood, been a diligent student. But we have no such record of Gray. All information we have of Vancouver goes to show that he entertained a wonderful appreciation of himself, of his own abilities and his importance to the English crown.

At this time, Spain was claiming the west coast of

North America from the gulf of Mexico to the Russian line, 54°, 40′ north. England, with a counter claim, was contending for New Albion, on the strength of Drake's discovery long ago, and also, Cook's exploration as heretofore set forth. Now none of these explorations had been followed up by any attempt at settlement. So all this country from Mexico to Alaska was, in a measure, in dispute. Even the Russians had been down the coast as far as San Francisco on business and felt that they should have a say in the matters of the disposition of these parts. Until Kendrick and Gray came out with the Columbia and the Lady Washington, England's discoveries by Drake and Cook were not recognized by the other nations. When President Jefferson of the United States made the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, there was included, in the deed, what ever rights France or Spain had or might have on this west coast of North America. Russia withdrew from the contest. This left the United States and England the only contestants for the Oregon Country reaching from the forty-second parallel to the 54°, 40′ parallel north. This contest between the United States and England lasted for more than thirty years. At times, the contention was so bitter that war appeared to be imminent.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S attitude, the troublesome complications, the friends and the foes involved, were the leading features in these transactions.

We wish now to take up the question of the Louisiana purchase. We cannot enter into an extended history of that mementous transaction, but only enough to show how it came about, and who were the principals in the transaction. We wish to show how, and when and where the great inspiration took root and matured. It will be remembered that at this time the former English colonies held no territory west of the Mississippi River, if ever, since the days of Narvez, LaSalle, De Soto and other French explorers. France spent a vast amount of treasure and many hundreds of human lives in the discovery and exploration of the Louisiana territory. The Spaniard, Narvez, was the first man to be commissioned with authority over this country. Panfil de Narvez was only a lad of fourteen years when Christopher Columbus discovered the West India Islands, but was old enough to become greatly interested and enthused by the tremendous ovations given Columbus. Panfil de Narvez was born at Valladolid, Spain, the city in which Columbus died. It was to be expected that a bright, spirited youth, living where Columbus was buried, would wish to emulate the example and attain the glory and be worthy of the applause not unlike that which attended the great Admiral. The young Narvez cast his lot early with the explorers.

At the conquest of Cuba, Narvez was second in command under Valques, who had Narvez appointed governor of that important island, greatly to the discomfiture of Cortez, who had conquered Mexico. The reader will remember that Cortez defied the authority of Valques to make such an appointment, arrested Narvez and attached Narvez' army to his own. The result of the quarrel between Cortez and Valques was settled by appointing Narvez to the office of second Governor of Florida, with authority extending indefinitely, beyond the present state of Louisiana.

Narvez was given absolute authority over all the natural resources of the territory, and especially over the Indians that he might conquer. His resources were limited, his equipage was old and faulty, and his fleet was not sufficiently seaworthy. As might be expected, Narvez made a failure and found a watery grave in the turbid Gulf of Mexico. But four men out of four hundred survived. These four men were the first white men to cross the Mississippi and continue their explorations across the lower part of the continent. They reached the Pacific, somewhere on the California coast, where they fortunately found a Spanish vessel on which they made their way to Spain.

One of these men, Cabez de Vaca, wrote an account of their wanderings, in such a captivating manner that one Hernando de Soto, who had been with Balboa and Pizarro in Peru, was again fired by the wonderful narrations to the extent that his spirits were all aglow for adventure. Hernando sought and won the daughter of his former chieftain, Pizarro, and secured the Governorship of Cuba. He made the proposition to

his sovereign, Charles the Fifth, to conquer Florida, at his own expense. Hernando de Soto sailed away with his fleet which was arrayed in splendid holiday attire, with the eclat of a world conqueror. In due time the fleet was anchored in Pensacola Bay. From here, Hernando led his gold-crazed companions over much of the interior of what is now Georgia and Alabama, conquering, without mercy, the aborigines, as he wandered. More than two thousand natives were slain before his wrath was appeased, all because the natives would not or could not uncover the gold which he thought they had cached away on his coming. His policy was to treat all Indians as enemies. When they declared that they knew of no place where gold could be found, they were murdered on the spot. When, to save their own lives, they pretended to know where gold might be found, they were, on failure to find the coveted treasure, thrown to the Spanish dogs.

For two long years, the deluded sons of Spain wandered through the swamps and crossed the estuaries of the great Mississippi. It was May, 1540, when on the Yazoo River they established their winter quarters. Here, the expedition had the misfortune to lose all of its equipment, which left the company in a deplorable condition. Malaria now set in, depleting their numbers frightfully. Hernando was one of the victims. His body was weighted down and lowered in the waters of the great river which he was exploring. Clothed in skins and sustained by the chase, and by wild ivy and other herbs and roots they might dig from the ground or force from the Indians, these expeditioners pushed northward to the line of the, now, state

of Missouri. From here, the western sun was followed into Mexico, thence to the ocean, where they embarked for Spain, only a sorry remnant of a great expedition. More than one hundred years passed by before the white man again undertook to penetrate these primeval forests and jungles of this great river or sailed on her waters.

Joliet and Marquette, two renowned explorers, with a party of seven, appeared upon the waters of the upper Mississippi with birch canoes. They floated down the great river for one thousand miles. This was in the summer of 1673. These Frenchmen treated the Indians with great kindness, and these kind acts were highly appreciated by the Red Men. The two explorers covered much of the Wisconsin country, and safely returned after a pleasant experience of more than four months' absence from headquarters. Howard in his "Louisiana Purchase," speaks very highly of these two Jesuits, singing a wonderful panegyric, especially on the life and character of Marquette.

We cannot follow all these intrepid explorers of the northern country, but will try to give a few of them in brief. Aside from those already mentioned were Sier; Counet; Frontenac, and Father Henepen, who descended to the northern limits of Hernando de Soto's explorations. It was April 9, 1682, when LaSalle and his followers, sailing from the mouth of the Mississippi into the great Gulf of Mexico, landed and set up the "Holy Cross," proclaimed the divinity of their religion and the sovereignty of their country "in the name of the most high and mighty and victorious Prince Louis the Great, and by the Grace of God the King of France

and Navarre." Three volleys proclaimed confirmation of the acquisition. The whole country was by LaSalla named "Louisiana." LaSalle included all the country west of the river and drained by the tributaries of the Mississippi.

LaSalle, in honor of his great sovereign and other notable men of France, laid plans for driving out the Spaniards entirely; but from various causes, the scheme failed and most of the adventurers died in the attempt. So, for years, the possession was in controversy by the French, the Spanish, and occasionally with the English threatening interference.

Money and men enough to set up a small state have been sacrificed in the waters of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. Many of the noblest leaders of Spain and France fell victims to the Indians' wrath in retribution for atrocities committed against them at sundry times. The American colonies had kept their hands off before the Revolution. They had refrained from any interference whatever, probably from lack of power to cope with the situation, or possibly they were looking to the mother country, England, to take care of their future needs, which had not developed. But after the Colonies became free, the future need was plainly visible. The names of Daniel Boone, Clark, Siever, Robertson and others came into prominence. Such resolute and farseeing men of force who were pushing civilization farther and farther to the south and west, with the rifle, the axe and the implements of a modern civilization, pushing ever onward.

George Rogers brought about the organization of Kentucky, annexing the territory to Virginia as a county.

Daniel Boone had gone into the south in 1772, and had gradually moved toward the Mississippi.

Siever and Robertson extended North Carolina to the great boundary by annexing Tennessee, and subduing the natives by their fearless and resolute character. These labors were adding largely to the American possessions. Our possessions were confirmed by the treaty with England in 1783. That memorable treaty with England, after more than seven years of warring with the mother country, brought about a very great change in the minds of the people. The geographical article of that treaty fixed the northern boundary through the center of the lakes and the western boundary down the center of the main channel of the Mississippi River. The article reads as follows:

"The navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to the Ocean shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Briton and the citizens of the United States." Note this down.

By this treaty, the United States doubled their former possessions, which addition comprises the states of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and a part of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama.

This treaty bought with blood and sacrifice, forever settled the destiny of the American Government. We must here name the principal actors in this greatest of all dramas: Washington, Greene, Wayne, Knox, Franklin, LaFayette, Baron Von Steuben, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, and many others just as worthy as those named, and worthy of our esteem and highest honors.

Other treaties of comity were made. Many of the inhabitants felt that the United States would never need more domain for development during all time to come. Others caught a vision of a greater union. Hence two parties soon arose, the expansionists and the anti-expansionists, of which more will be said later.

At this period in the history of our country, around the Gulf of Mexico, the Spanish were in possession of Florida. As much of the western portion of Florida could be reached only by entrance through the Gulf of Mexico, and since the English-American treaty secured to the Americans the unobstructed use of the waters of the Mississippi from its source to the sea, therefore, the Americans should have the free use of the Gulf. But the Spanish interpreted this treaty to be in violation of their rights of possession of the Gulf, and claimed that the English did not have the power to give the rights for the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico to any party. Further and of more importance was the contention that, as Spain, at New Orleans in Louisiana, owned both sides of the great river, therefore England had no power or authority, by treaty or otherwise, to give any power the authority to pass up or down her territory. So Spain closed the river to American shipping. This act blocked the Southerners entirely from the Sea. Spain had destroyed their only ingress and egress with the outer world with their shipping. Their God-given highway was entirely cut off.

John Jay, our secretary of foreign affairs, was willing to yield this contention, for a period of twenty-five years, but Congress refused Jay's proposition. How-

ever, Congress was not in position to enforce its interpretation of the treaty. Shame on Jay.

The humane governor of Louisiana at this time was Galvez, but he was soon succeeded by the tyrant, Miro. Galvez was appointed as the Viceroy of Mexico, and his humane administration is lauded to the present day. The city he built, "Galveston," carries his name today, as a memorial to his honor. It was Galvez who built the pallacious fortress on the rock, Chapultapec, where General Winfield Scott won great renown in the war with Mexico, in 1847. But to return to Governor Miro—the first act of this implacable foe was to make friends of the Indians, giving handsome salaries to all the chiefs, and to fete them on all important occasions. In many ways, he cemented the interests of the Indians with the Spanish interests. The great Indian chief was one McGilvray, whose mother was an Indian princess and his father a Scotchman. McGilvray was, so the Americans said, a real "Devil incarnate." With rapine and murder of the American settlers to the north, and boldly declaring that he would exterminate the American populace, this devil prepared for his hellish work.

James Robertson, the promoter of American settlement, declared "that McGilvray, the Creek Indians, the Devil and the Spaniards are all devils, but the worst devil is the chief, McGilvray."

McGilvray gathered the Creeks, the Chippeways, the Choctaws and others into a confederation at Pensacola, Florida. This conglomeration of a confederation McGilvray called a Congress. Governor Miro graced this mass with his presence. All the Spanish officers attended in their best royal style and demeanor.

The historian, Howard, says: "The Indians vied in their flatteries with the Spaniards, insisting that all the beautiful ladies present were sisters and decendants from heaven. More than three hundred thousand dollars, from the Spanish treasury, were spent in this amalgamation which prepared the Indians to say, 'We have Spanish hearts in our breasts and scalping knives in our belts for the Americans.' "

It was plain to see the hand of Miro in this. Miro was fully as ardent in his religion as in his tyranny against the Americans. While adroitly placating the Indian tribes into a union against the American settlers, he was faithfully educating his adherents in the ceremonies and adorations of a glorious religion and teaching the litany of the church. In his proclamation of 1786, he exhorts the faithful Catholics to attend the celebration of the holy mysteries; to abstain from work on sacred days; to close shop doors and prevent slaves from dancing on the public squares, before the close of the service; he forbids colored females to wear on their heads any plumes or jewelry, but have their hair bound in a kerchief; inhabitants of the city are forbidden to leave by land without passports; the vestal passports to slaves are forbidden."

During this year, revenues from exports and imports at New Orleans, amounted to $72,000. A letter was written to Spain as follows: "The powerful enemies we have to fear in this province, are not the English but the Americans whom we must appease by active and sufficient measures."

This same official declared that the only way to check the Americans, was with a superior population.

But Charles the Third, King of Spain, was determined that the Americans should be cooped in by keeping the Mississippi closed against them, or extortionate prices for transport be exacted on all shipping. It seems that Charles had some compunctions of conscience, again, at murders, and concluded it would be more humane to starve the Americans or drive them away.

Such were the affairs in the territory of the colonies. Many efforts were made to organize states in the south but all came to naught. Threats and counter-threats, were, apparently, floating on the breeze. Betrayers of men, of associations, and even of governments, were as common as the woods around them. Nothing was in a settled state.

Even Thomas Jefferson, in 1786, while in Paris as American Minister, took a hand in the matter as shown by a letter dated at Paris, "January 25, 1786, Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest from which all America both *north* and *south* is to be peopled. We should be careful to not think it to the interest of that great continent to press too soon on the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is that they are too feeble to hold them till our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece. The navigation of the Mississippi, we must have. This is all we are yet ready to receive."

All attempts at government in the south have been abortive. Miro and McGilvray were able to check any attempt by the people. Finally, when Washington came into office, he wished to make peace with all of the Indians in that troubled section. Wash-

ington invited all the redhanded murderers, with Alexander McGilvray to visit New York City, the temporary capital. It was hoped that the dreaded villain, McGilvray, might be pacified by a monetary consideration. Twenty-eight chief warriors, in grandiloquent style, accompanied the chief. When this freebooter and land pirate got through with his liberal genuflections, and was ready for business, the diplomats found that all he pretended to want was a monopoly in furnishing the supplies to the Creek nation, $100,000 for the lands in Georgia, and the pay and the rank of Brigadier-General in the United States army for life. These were his terms, with the attitude of "stand and deliver." While promising to place his tribe under our protection, the "double crosser" was, at this precise time, in the employ and pay of both Great Britain and Spain. It is hardly necessary to say that nothing came out of this conference with McGilvray and his chiefs. Things looked pretty dark for the new government, just getting on its feet.

On July 11, 1790, Jefferson, referring to the spirited preparations of England, now seemingly bent on war with Spain, writes to Monroe:

"Other symptoms indicate a general design on all Louisiana and the two Floridas. What a tremendous position would success in this object place us! Embraced from the St. Croix to St. Marys, on the one side, by their possessions, on the other side by the fleet, we need not hesitate to say that they would soon find means to unite to them all the territory covered by the ramifications of the Mississippi."

Just one month later, President Washington writes to La Fayette:

"Gradually advancing in our task of civil government, untangled in the crooked politics of Europe, wanting scarcely anything but the full navigation of the Mississippi, which we must have and certainly shall have, I supposed that, with the undeviating exercise of a just, steady and prudent national policy, we shall be gainers, whether the powers of the Old World may be in peace or war, but more especially the latter case. Should a war take place between Great Briton and Spain, I can conceive from a variety of concurring circumstances, there is the highest probability that the Floridas will soon be in the possession of the former."

Now he writes a few lines of advice to Spain to be "liberal and annihilate all cause for differences" between that nation and his own. Shortly after, he wrote Madison, urging a settlement of the friction existing in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi. This matter of the free navigation of the Gulf and waters of the river was the serious bone of contention for the next years, until the final consumation of the treaty with France. It is not the intention to give the history of the treaty in full, which had its influence in this final act; only enough to make plain the various controversies to be settled, and which were finally settled, we hope, for all time, and to bring out the characters of the contestants, and give the honors to those who earned them.

Three nations were more or less mixed up in the many hindrances which prevented the United States from acquiring, sooner, the free navigation of the Mississippi; namely, Spain, France and England. The

United States was an interested observer, and finally a stubborn contender. Spain and France acquired rights by discovery and explorations, but England appears, at this distance, to have been an intruder. For many years it seemed that the English government, looked for an excuse or an opportunity to get a strong hold in that quarter.

But all these nations were periodically having trouble among themselves on the European continent. Spain was the power to be reckoned with on the Mississippi. While England owned the colonies, she could see that the time would most likely come when the open river would be a necessity to the middle country. But after she lost her colonies, the matter of transportation was not so much of a problem. In the case of the United States, the question became serious. The most serious hindrance was the Indian question, as has been noticed. These Gulf Indians were, in later years, ready to go on the warpath in the interest of the highest bidder and were hard to cope with, especially when backed by the little less ferocious Spanish soldier.

It was with great adroitness and loss of patience that our new government kept free from European alliances. Never once, did our government lose sight of the desire for free use of the great river and its tributaries. But not once do we find that anyone ever even suggested that we desired more than free access to the eastbank of the river and access to the ocean. The idea of settlement west of the Mississippi did not appear to anyone as feasible, above Louisiana. Never once does it occur that the United States desired any

domain west of the river. We will observe the opinions of some of the officers and diplomats who figured in the negotiations that led to the acquisition of the territory west of the Mississippi. On August 2, 1790, the Secretary of State, instructed by the cabinet, wrote to Charmichael, our minister at Madrid:

". . . . .With this information, written and oral, you will be able to meet the Minister in conversation on the subject of the Mississippi, to which we lead his attention immediately. Impress him thoroughly with the necessity of an early and even an immediate settlement of this matter to the field of negotiation for this purpose; and though it must be done delicately, he must be made to understand, unequivocally, that a resumption of the negotiation is not desired on our part, unless he can determine, from the first opening of it, to yield the immediate and full enjoyment of that navigation. It is impossible to account for the forbearance of our western citizens. We endeavor to quiet them with the expectation of an attainment of their rights by peaceful means. But should they, in a moment of impatience, hazard others, there is no saying how far we may be led. Nor for neither themselves nor their rights will ever be abandoned by us."

The above stern language was to be used if Spain assumed the attitude of war, but otherwise milder language should be used. As Spain and England became more war-like, Washington was inclined to grant England's requested right to move troops across our territory to Louisiana. The great William Pitt was using strong expressions to induce Spain to grant our request. Alexander Hamilton reported on the case as follows:

"The conduct of Spain towards us, presents a picture far less favorable. The direct aid we received from her during the war was inconsiderable compared with her faculty of aiding us. She refrained from acknowledging our Independence; has never acceded to our treaty of commerce with France, though her right of doing so was reserved to her, nor made any treaty with us. She has maintained possessions within our acknowledged limit—without our consent; she has perseveringly obstructed our sharing with navigation of the Mississippi, though it is a privilege essential to us and to which we consider ourselves as having an indisputable title—an increase in the means of annoying us in the same hands as a certain ill consequence of the acquisition of the Floridas and Louisiana by the British. This will result not only from contiguity to a greater part our territory, but from the increased facility of acquiring undivided influence over all the Indian tribes inhabiting within the borders of the United States. Additional danger of the dismemberment of the western country is another ill consequence to be apprehended from that acquisition;. . . .an explicit recognition of our right to navigate the Mississippi to and from the ocean with the possession of New Orleans would greatly mitigate the causes of the apprehension from the conquest of the Floridas by the British;. . . .The western ports on one side and the navigation of the Mississippi on the other call for a vigorous attention to what is going on. The securing of the latter may be regarded in its consequences as essential to the unity of the empire. . . . We ought not to leave in the possession of any foreign

power the territories at the mouth of the Mississippi which are to be regarded as the key to it."

To give the reader a good understanding of the prospects of securing a hearing by Spain, we will quote Charmichael, who was in Spain.

"June 24th, 1791, This government (Spanish) is weak. The ministry is in a ticklish situation; the queen governs and governs with caprice; the people begin to dispute their sovereigns; and although they have no chiefs to look to, the dissatisfaction is general."

However, it was generally felt that they should keep on good terms with the Americans, and if possible, form good and lasting connections with them.

Our relations with England during Washington's first administration were only semi-amicable. The criminations and recriminations passed from both sides. There was little better feeling between the Americans and English than that which existed between the Americans and the Spanish. Each seemed to have a chip on his shoulder and daring the other to knock it off. Hammond, the first British minister, was assuming the attitude of a fault-finder. The Virginians owed England a large sum on the ante-bellum war debts. To balance this sum, Jefferson charged England as having been the instigator of all the Indian raids during the Revolutionary War. These were the barren results, and the Indians, if anything, became more troublesome than before, aided and abetted by the Spaniards and the English.

No direct evidence of the source of these troubles could be obtained on which a declaration of war could be made against foreign nations. Therefore, the only

recourse was to fight it out with the Indians. Of all the expeditions sent against these Indian hordes, that of Anthony (Mad Anthony) Wayne was the most notable. This general gave the Indians such a serious defeat that the country had peace from that section for some time.

But the Mississippi question, like Bancho's ghost, kept bubbling up. It would not permanently down. Washington had hoped to get a treaty with Spain, Adams had cherished the same ambition. The brightest statesmen in America had thoroughly studied this Mississippi question. The best generals and the bravest soldiers had bled, and many had suffered horrible deaths, and worse, at the hands of the Indians, tools of Spain and England; and yet the question was not settled. It was apparently no nearer to settlement than for years back.

Jefferson was chosen President, and on February 17, 1801, was sworn into the office of President. Alexander Hamilton, that greatest of financiers, was sworn into the office of Secretary of the Treasury; and John Marshall, Chief Justice.

In his first inaugural address, Jefferson surprised the nation by remaining silent as to the Mississippi question, a matter of all importance to the country at large, and especially to the new territories in the southwest. No official document made any allusion to the Mississippi until the President wrote a "semi-official" letter of July 13th to William C. Clayborne, whom he had appointed governor of the Mississippi territory, in preference to Andrew Jackson. With respect to Spain, Jefferson made the following remark "Our dis-

positions are sincerely amiable and even affectionate. We consider her possession of the adjacent country as most favorable to our interests, and should see with extreme pain any other nation substituted for them. In all communications, therefore with her officers, conciliation and mutual accomodations are to be mainly attended to. Everything irritating is to be avoided, everything friendly is to be done for them. The most fruitful source of misunderstanding will be the conduct of their and our people at New Orleans. Temper and justice will be the best guides through these intricacies. Should France get possession of that country, it will be more to be lamented than remedied by us, as it will be ground for profound consideration on our part, how best to conduct ourselves in that case. It would, of course, be the subject of fresh comunications to you."

This tone and affection toward Spain was misplaced confidence, as Spain, the next year, closed the Mississippi. The consideration of Spain as friendly and France as an enemy, seemed to be diametrically wrong. It would appear to an outsider that Jefferson was trying to placate Spain as a parent would a spoiled child, but it was of no avail. Jefferson's next move in this matter was to appoint Robert R. Livingston as minister plenipotentiary to France. "Livingston was an able and honorable man" and his appointment was, no doubt, the best act of Jefferson's administration, as Livingston became the chief factor in the consummation of the acquisition of the Louisiana country.

Charles Pinckney was appointed minister to Spain. A secret conference was going on between Spain and

France which resulted in the ceding of the whole of Louisiana to France by Spain. From January, 1801, to the March of 1802, the United States government remained ignorant of this most important transfer. It was April, 1802, when Jefferson learned of this secret transfer from Spain to France. This was a wonderful surprise to President Jefferson. He then saw that Spain had been double crossing him, and that now he must reverse his policy with France.

Jefferson had, up to this time not caught the true vision of the possibilities that lay dormant in that great country drained by the Father of Waters, the gigantic Mississippi. Listen to his lament to Livingston, his envoy extraordinary to France: "The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the day which is to restrain her forever within her low watermark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high grounds; and having formed and cemented together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe, the signal for tearing up settlements she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purpose of the United American and British nations."

From April to October, Jefferson had been doing some

tall thinking and had completely reversed himself. October 10th he writes to Livingston as follows: "We see all the disadvantageous consequences of taking a side, and shall be forced into it by a more disagreeable alternative; in which we must counteract the disadvantages by measures which will give us splendor and power, but not as much happiness as our present system. We wish, therefore, to remain well with France. But we see that no consequences, however ruinous to them, can secure us with certainty against the extravagance of her present rulers. I think, therefore, that while we do nothing which the first nation on earth would deem crouching, we had better give to all our communications with them a very mild, complaisant and even friendly complexion, but always independent."

Mr. Livingston, in France, was ever alert, but did not hear of the transfer of Louisiana to France sooner than did Jefferson, as information on this subject of such wonderful import, had, as it were, been kept under lock and key for more than a whole year. Upon learning of the treaty, Livingston, obtained and sent to Jefferson a copy of the treaty, and later wrote in part as follows: "On the subject of Louisiana, I have nothing new. The establishment is disapproved by every statesman here as one that will occasion a great waste of men and money, excite enmities with us, and produce no possible advantage to the nation. But it is a scheme to which the "First Consul" is extremely attached, and must be, of course, supported. You will find, by the endorsed note, that I have pressed an explanation on the subject though a friend, from the First Consul, that it is by no means their intention to

obstruct the navagation of the Mississippi or violate our treaty with Spain."

The administration was becoming quite uneasy about the attitude of France, as France seemed quite non-communicative on the Louisiana question. Just what the result might be was a mooted question. The Secretary of State closes a long letter of May 1st, to Livingston, with these words: "The cession of Louisiana to France becomes daily more and more a source of painful apprehension. . . . . You will, also, pursue by prudent means, the inquiry into the extent of the cession, particularly whether it includes the Floridas as well as New Orleans, and endeavor to ascertain the price at which these, if included in the cession would be yielded to the United States."

It appears that the administration had no thought of, or desire to obtain anything on the west side of the river. If the reader has any doubt in the matter, as to Jefferson wishing only to have free access to the river on the east side, the following will make the matter clear: "Should the cession actually fail," the secretary to Pinckney at Madrid, wrote, "from this or any other cause, and Spain retain New Orleans and the Floridas, I repeat to you the wish of the president (Jefferson) that every effort and address be employed to obtain the arrangement by which the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, including New Orleans may be ceded to the United States, and the Mississippi be made a common boundary, with a common use of its navigation for them and Spain. The inducements held out to Spain were intimated in your instructions on this point. I am charged by the President, now to add

that you may not only receive and transmit a proposition of guaranty of her territory beyond the Mississippi as a condition of her ceding to the United States the territory including New Orleans on this side, but in case it be necessary, you may make the proposition yourself in the forms required by the Constitution."

We wish now to quote a page from Howard's History of the Louisiana Purchase, (page 103)—"This very significent dispatch is found on page 517, American State Papers, Vol. 2, of Foreign Relations; also in the archives of the Department of State. It is an official document which the writers of our school histories and the authors of the Hosmer-Binger works of fiction appear never to have seen. It proves that Mr. Jefferson, instead of bringing about the Louisiana acquisition single-handed, was one of the two men who were ready and willing to prevent forever this acquisition by a constitutional "Guaranty or prohibition!" We refer, of course, to the vast territory on the west side of the Mississippi, which is the only domain worthy of serious discussion. Mr. Pinckney tried in vain to carry out these omnious instructions, but fortunately could not, because Spain was hesitating and in doubt whether she had any Floridas to sell or convey.

In France, Livingston was blandly told that the Floridas did not belong to the lands transferred. With all his virtuous patience exhausted, Livingston writes home in September: "There never was a government in which less could be done by negotiation, than here. There is no people, no legislature, no counsellors. One man is everything. He never asks advice and never

hears it unasked. His ministers are mere clerks and his legislature and counsellors are only parade officers."

On October 26, 1802, Livingston wrote an important dispatch to the President, informing him that the Mississippi business, though the officers are appointed and the army under orders, has met with a check. He gives interesting details of a conversation he had two days before with Joseph Bonaparte who assured him he had read a long memoir on Louisiana placed in his hands by our minister, and that his brother, the First Counsul, had done likewise. "Joseph Bonaparte asked me whether we should prefer the Floridas to Louisiana. I told him that there was no comparison in their value, but that we had no wish to extend our boundary across the Mississippi, or give color to the doubts that had been entertained of the moderation of our views; that all we sought was security and not extension of territory."

As the year of bickering drew to a close, December 23rd, Mr. Madison was instructed by the President to write as follows to the First Consul: "In the latter part of last month, we received information from New Orleans of the interdiction of the deposits there for our merchandise, stipulated by treaty with Spain, without an equivalent establishment being assigned. . . . . Should it be revoked before the time of the descent of the boats in the spring, both the injury and irritation proceeding from it will be greatly increased. That while we have no clear foundation on which to impute this infraction to orders from the Spanish government, it would be contrary to the duty, policy and character of our own, to resort for redress in the first instance, to the use of forces."

While Madison was writing the above letter, Livingston was also writing of the seeming war preparations going on in France, which he took as preparations for sending a fleet to the Gulf of Mexico by France. So he writes as follows: "The armament has not yet sailed; Florida not yet ceded; more hesitation and doubt on the subject than I have yet heard. A private mentor under the Consul's eye touching a string that alarms them. I cannot now explain. The minister knows nothing of this. Set on foot a negotiation fixing our bounds with Britain, but by no means conclude until you hear from me that all hope is lost. . . . Do not absolutely despair, though you may have no great reason to hope, should New Orleans be possessed by a small force."

Consider for a moment Livingston's position, doing all he possibly could to secure a treaty with France that would settle forever the controversy over the Mississippi, and add the whole of Louisiana to the domain of the United States, while the President could see nothing needed or desired save a safe landing for ships on the east side of the Mississippi. And also consider how Livingston was fighting lone-handed against such men as the First Consul, the "Hero of Marengo," Talleyrand, Berthier and Marbois. Then you will realize that Livingston was the great unflinching force that held the Ship of State on an even keel in this great crisis. Mr. Howard on page 105, remarks: "Can it be that the learned jurist, the trained diplomat, the veteran statesman was more than a match for the young, yet inexperienced First Consul? So it would seem. The Franklins, the Livingstons,

the Websters, in their own field of diplomacy were outgeneraled or outfought."

In the meantime Jefferson became very much worried over the turn negotiations were taking, and Madison, his secretary, was kept busy in keeping Livingston apprised of the changing suggestions of the President. The matter of the transfer of Louisiana from Spain to France was not yet fully settled. This made it difficult to get any positive declaration from either party as to just what they would consider.

Jefferson, well knowing the animosity existing between England and the two powers, France and Spain, and forgetting the injunctions of Washington, to avoid "European entanglements," wrote Livingston, and Monroe, who had been appointed to act in conjunction with Livingston, as follows: "France cedes forever to the United States, the territory east of the Mississippi, comprehending the two Floridas, the island of New Orleans and the islands lying on the north and east of that channel of said river which is commonly called the South Pass, together with such other islands as appertained to either West or East Florida, France reserving for herself all territories west of the Mississippi." You will see that in all these negotiations, Jefferson never once desired to negotiate for any territory beyond the Mississippi.

Then fearing that France or Spain, or both, might take umbrage at what they might consider a demand, he further wrote his agents: "Notwithstanding the just repugnance of the country to a coalition of any sort with the belligerent policies of Europe, the advantages to be desired from the co-operation of Great

Britain in a war of the United States against France and her allies are too obvious and too important to be renounced. And notwithstanding the apparent disinclination of the British councils to a renewal of hostilities with France, it will probably yield to the various motives which will be felt, to have the United States in the scale of Britain against France, and particularly for the immediate purpose of defeating a project of the latter, which has evidently created much solicitude in the British government."

Not feeling satisfied with this letter, the next day he dictated another, couched in much stronger terms, urging his ministers to hold consultations with the British ministers, stirring up as much feeling against France as possible. By comparing dates, the reader will readily see that these letters were written after the great treaty was made. On the very day of the signing of the treaty in Paris, Jefferson still worrying over New Orleans, wrote to John Bacon, from Washington:: "Although I am not sanguine in obtaining a cession of New Orleans for money, yet I am confident in the policy of putting off the day of contention for it until we are stronger in ourselves, and stronger in allies, but especially until we have planted such population on the Mississippi as will be able to do their own business without the necessity of marching men from the shores of the Atlantic, 1500 to 2000 miles thither to perish by fatigue and change of climate."

We find that Livingston and Monroe concluded the treaty for the Louisiana Purchase on April 13, 1803, and Livingston transmitted the rough draft to Jefferson at three a.m. the next morning, five days

before Jefferson wrote his belligerent letters against France. This will not create wonder when remembering that we had not the telephone, steamship, radio or telegraph at that time.

Monroe arrived in Paris, April 12th, but was not presented to Tallyrand until May 1st, so had nothing to say to the ministers of France until after the negotiations were concluded by Livingston and Tallyrand. On April 13th, the conditions were agreed to, but the draft was not perfected and signed until April 30th, 1803. Those who wish to read the full particulars of these negotiations will find them in a splendid volume by Howard, entitled "The Louisiana Purchase." We only aimed herein to show who was the principal figure in securing this empire to the United States, which gives Robert R. Livingston forever a place in the Hall of Fame along with the greatest men produced by the United States.

When the document arrived in its completeness, signed and attested, Jefferson and Madison were astonished. One writer says they "were dazed at the audacity of their agents." They had not at any time foreseen the immensity of the opportunity before them. They practically went into hiding for two weeks until they could gain their composure. Instead of showing their gratitude for such an acquisition, they found fault with Livingston in a personal letter addressed to Monroe.

The President at first declared that he could not approve of the treaty, because if he does he will be making waste paper of the Constitution. He bemoaned the condition which the treaty would bring

the United States into. But when he soon learned that the action of the agents at Paris was generally approved, he yielded to the wishes of the people. Jefferson was loth to admit that he had been wrong, although he proceeded to take the right action to get the Constitution amended so as to authorize the acquisition of the Territory.

But his friends took such languid interest in the matter, the effort was dropped and the *post facto* sanction was forever abandoned. Personally Jefferson kept harping on the matter until Livingston in two urgent letters brought out a rapid change in the President's attitude. He wrote from Monticello, August 12th, to his secretary: "I infer that the less we say about the constitutional difficulties respecting Louisiana, the better, and what is necessary for surmounting them must be done sub-silento." A special session of Congress was called to meet, October 17, 1803, and within two days after organization, the treaty was approved. This matter was urgent, as Napoleon had rued his bargain and had instructed the hunting of flaws or loopholes by which he could abrogate the treaty. But as none were found, the treaty was considered inviolate.

There has been much controversy over the matter of responsibility for the acquisition of the Louisiana territory. The ardent friends of Jefferson seem determined that the glory shall go to Jefferson, and those of Livingston would give the major part to their favorite. After reading and studying much documentary evidence, I am obsessed of the opinion that Livingston was the major actor in the drama. After

the acquisition, there is no doubt but Jefferson's influence led that of all others in efforts for expansion, but in the struggle for relieving the shipping necessities of the southerners, not one word was ever hinted that more than safe and convenient shipping facilities for the settlers on the east side of the Mississippi were desired. Language already quoted shows that Jefferson would give up all contention to New Orleans for a port for American shippers. But after Jefferson recovered from the shock of the acquisition, he was ready to call to mind and consider the speculations of John Ledyard, which he absorbed from that visionary, while United States Minister in Paris years before.

True, Jefferson had at times expressed the desirability of sending out an expedition of discovery to the west in the interest of education and science, but we have found no record of any thought of expansion by Jefferson, until the signing of the Louisiana treaty. But from this time on, no one should find any fault or lukewarmness in his makeup toward the question of expansion.

In 1792, as before related, Gray discovered the Columbia River, and now with the right of discovery, we should secure a further claim by exploration. This proposition was patent to every lover of his country. There were few to oppose such an expedition, so in 1804, Jefferson put in motion an expedition by Lewis and Clarke, with very full and elaborate instructions in every imaginative detail. For these instructions see a little book entitled: "Lewis and Clarke Journals, by John Bach McMaster." Pages from thirty-three to forty-three. Also in the same book will be found a

biographical sketch of Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke.

Early in the spring of 1804, the party consisting of Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke, with a crew of thirty men, started up the Missouri River with bateaus, with a full complement of requirements for such an expedition as outlined in the instructions of President Jefferson for the search for scientific knowledge in general and especially the task of finding that great country "where rolls the Oregon, and ascertain as far as possible all the facts relating to the source, course and junction of the Oregon River with the Pacific."

The plan was as that of Mackenzie, twelve years before, to follow the largest river from the west to its source, then cross the divide and follow the waters flowing west to their terminus in the ocean. This task was ably accomplished by Lewis and Clarke in the years 1804 to 1806, and the theory was confirmed that Gray's Columbia was the river that drained the major part of the great northwest. When this news was published to the world, the great fur companies from Canada sent explorers to every part of the country from Mexico to Alaska.

From Athabasca Lake, the Great Slave Lake, the Red River of the north, and in fact from the United States, men by the thousand rushed to the country explored by Mackenzie and Lewis and Clarke. The two rival companies of Canada, the Northwest Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company were ere long amalgamated. Mackenzie had been instrumental in uniting all the Canadian companies except

the Hudson's Bay Company into one chief opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company, and when these two coalesced into one, a monopoly was formed that finally drove out all American companies.

The Hudson's Bay Company finally became the real rulers of the great Northwest. Every opposition went to disaster. The most notable one to hold out, and probably sustained the greatest loss was that of John Jacob Astor in 1811. The rise and fall of Astor's company makes a page of very interesting reading, but since it was not organized for exploration, you are referred to the histories of the settlement of the Northwest. We may give a chapter later on the subject.

The facts of the explorations by Mackenzie, Vancouver, Gray, Mears, Heceta, Drake, Cook, Lewis and Clarke, and many others, gave cause for conflicting claims to the Oregon Country by Spain, the United States and Russia. Finally the contention settled down to a contention between England and the United States as mentioned in the chapter given to Vancouver and Gray.

Through treaty negotiations, the United States and England entered into an agreement of joint occupation for a term of years, with the stipulation that citizens of England and those of the United States should have equal rights in the territory from California to the Russian claim beyond 54°, 40′ north latitude.

This will be treated later in this book.

Before entering into another chapter, we will state that this joint occupancy lasted until 1846. The American and English settlers had previously organized a government of their own and for seven years carried it on in a

decent and orderly maner, until 1846, when the United States and England divided the territory between themselves, fixing the 49th parallel of latitude as the boundary between the two possessions and giving the United States the territory to the south and that in the north to England. The details of this occupancy will be given in the closing chapter of this book.

In May, 1804, Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke, with a retinue of thirty persons—thirteen soldiers, nine young men from Kentucky, two Frenchmen, water men, an interpreter and a Negro servant started on the long journey to find the source of the Columbia, the confluence of which with the Pacific Ocean had been discovered by Robert Gray twelve years before. The course was to be found in the great Missouri River. The plan was to follow up the river with bateaus as far as possible, then to follow to the head waters of some tributary until it gave out, then cross the divide or divides until a stream was found running northward or westward toward the latitude and longitude as given by Gray for the Columbia. This plan was strictly adherred to, in the main, until in the fall of 1805, they succeeded in reaching the desired goal.

This achievement gave the United States a double claim on the Oregon country. Since Jonathan Carver in 1766, wrote that the Indians told him of a great river flowing west beyond the shining mountains, called Oregon, and the publication of ~~J. G.~~ ~~Whittier~~'s Bryant poem "Thanatopsis" in which occurred the line—"Where rolls the Oregon," the whole country north

of Mexico to the Russian Alaska, was known as the Oregon Country.

Even before Lewis and Clarke had penetrated the unknown wilderness, inhabited only by the creatures of nature and the rough and uncouth Indian, one Alexander Mackenzie, a trapper, had pushed his way from the Red River country in and across the mountains to the ocean at or near the 52nd parallel of north latitude. This was one of the most perilous journeys ever taken in the exploration of any country. "There is a rock on the Pacific shore, where Mackenzie rested for a while, with an inscription commemorating the event of which Mackenzie speaks as follows: "I now mixed up some vermillion in melted grease, and inscribed in large characters on the southeast face of the rock on which we slept last night, this brief memorial, 'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, the 22nd day of July, one thousand and seven hundred and ninety three.'" Surely this is a brief memorial—1793, the first white man to cross the North American continent north of Mexico and but one year before the news of Gray's discovery had reached the ears of the world. Like Gray, Mackenzie did not seem to vision the great importance of his wonderful achievement. pointing to the future possession of a veritable empire by his country, Britain. "Had Mackenzie only known that Captain Vancouver, on that very day was in the neighborhood of Maskelyne Point—surveying a leading observatory Inlet and Portland canal, he might have made an attempt to join him, whereby he would have saved the time and the strength necessary to retrace his overland journey to Canada which caused

him so many hardships and hairbreadth escapes. But he did not know, and possibly never learned.

The exact location of Mackenzie's rock was long unknown, although many efforts were made to locate the spot and find the monument. One of the principal reasons for the failures, was the footnote added to Mackenzie's journal when he prepared it for publication: "This I found to the cheek of Vancouver's Cascade Canal." Another hindrance was from error due to inaccurate instruments, rather than carelessness in taking observations from the sun, or gazing at the stars through his telescope. Navigators made similar mistakes. Even the highly educated Vancouver himself, made similar errors, for instance, fixing the position of Monterey, he made the blunder of twenty miles in locating that prominent port. However, Mackenzie's rock was found and visited by John Dunn in 1836. He wrote as follows: "I saw Mackenzie's rock and his inscription was even at that date partly legible." Dunn, however, failed to give the location.

It was Captain R. C. Bishop of Victoria B. C., who settled the difficulty that had thrown a doubt on the subject for many years, on those who had searched for the coveted location. Captain Bishop gives a detailed description of all the efforts he made in the search and finally describes the find as follows: "To the south of the village site is an isolated rock which answers Mackenzie's description. Its walls are nearly vertical, elsewhere they are overhanging on the inland side, and in other places logs and stones have been built up to increase its defences. A sufficient portion of it is flat and smooth, preserving a good painting surface.

CHAPTER XV

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE was a descendent of the Mackenzies of Seaforth, ancestors of the Mackenzies of Logis, Hilton and Garloch, to whom the island of Lewis, of which Stornway is the capital, at one time belonged. It was at Stornway that Alexander Mackenzie was born, in 1764, according to a family record still extant." In his youth Alexander received considerable education up to his tenth year, when he was taken by the family to New York. He had spent his vacations at Stornway in the fishing boats with companions, until he became inured to the hard efforts incident to the fishing occupation. "Alexander was a white-faced, enemic, city-bred lad when he sailed away from the port of Stornway for the new world with relatives of the family. His father had preceded him and was in Montreal. His mother remained at Stornway. His father was in the employ of one of the fur gathering companies and this impetuous youth, having seen other boys starting for the wonderful west, wanted to join them and his father in Montreal. He had heard many stories of the fabulous riches gained in the fur trading centers, and his young blood boiled at the prospect of taking a hand in the lucrative business."

Just how he reached Montreal from New York is not before the writer. Alexander entered the counting house of a Montreal firm of merchants and traders. He was glad to enter into the employ of a company

of free traders where he could learn the operations of the various companies, and learn how they treated their men. For five years Alexander worked in the office of McLeod and Co., acquiring a knowledge of the business in all its details, except the actual setting of traps and securing of the furs at the hunting camp. He learned of the customs of the country, of the Indians and of the trappers, thus preparing himself for a more active participation in the stirring life of the trader.

As his knowledge increased, his zeal grew accordingly and his reliability was so well established in the minds of his company that he became a favorite; was entrusted implicity by his employers with a small venture in goods, with which he proceeded to Detroit forthwith. There were no roads through the forests of Ontario, but there was the St. Lawrence River, and beyond, the Great Lakes, over whose surface canoes laden with men with merchandise might travel. Mackenzie arrived at his destination without incident and soon established friendly relations with the Indians, and prosecuted his business with credit to himself and profit to his employers, who soon arranged that he be admitted as a partner in the independent enterprise in which Gregory and McLeod were associated, all this without Mackenzie's solicitation. One of the conditions was that Mackenzie should go to the Indian country known as "Saskatchewan" the following spring, 1785. "This matter all being settled, Mackenzie, now enjoying the rank of a 'Burgeois,' set out for the Grand Portage where he joined his associates."

While in Detroit, there arrived in Canada a cousin of Alexander's, direct from Scotland—Roderick Mackenzie, with letters of introduction to Peter Stewart. This young Roderick Mackenzie presented his credentials to and consulted with Stewart as to the best course for him to adopt with a view to his material advantage. Mr. Stewart advised him to enter the fur trade. In accordance with this advice, Roderick Mackenzie went to Montreal and succeeded in finding employment with Gregory, McLeod and Co. He then entered into an agreement to work for these men for three years at St. Ann, for the Northwest Company. This brigade for the far west left early in the spring, and Roderick Mackenzie, who was somewhere in the interior, joined it at Long Sault on the Ottawa. The brigade was also joined by the senior partner, Mr. Gregory and James Findlay, a young man who had previously been as far west as these men were bound. Young Findlay was the same age as his cousin L. Findlay.

When they arrived at Thessalon, on Lake Huron, near the mouth of St. Mary's River, Gregory and Findlay separated from the main body and went to Michilimackinac, leaving Duncan Pollock in command. Soon after leaving the main body they met with Peter (Bostonnais) Pangman, and a few days later they were joined by Gregory, James Findlay and Alexander Mackenzie. All met the new members of the concern, assembled at their headquarters at the Grand Portage, with the exception of McLeod whose duty was to manage the affairs at Montreal. Peter Pond, he who had been so keen in urging Gregory, McLeod and Co.

to compete with the Frobesher and McTavish interests, soon had deserted them, and gone back to his associates. At the conference which ensued, it was decided that John Ross should proceed to Athabasca, Alexander Mackenzie to English River, (Churchill River) Pangman to Fort des Prairies (the Saskatchewan district), and Duncan Pollock to Red River. This arrangement left a suitable guard at Grand Portage to make necessary plans for the spring drive for furs.

It will be remembered that the two great rival companies were the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company. The old company was the Hudson's Bay Co., the Northwest Co. being looked upon as an enemy to the former, and now Gregory and McLeod were a third company to contend for a share of the profits of the fields.

By the opening of spring, Roderick Mackenzie had risen to the management in place of L'Anniau. In the summer of 1786, the two cousins Roderick and Alexander went to English River where Roderick was placed in charge of the post at Lac des Serpents. To that same locality came William McGilvray in the interests of the Northwest Company. Side by side stood the two rival concerns. The competition was keen, yet the two companies appeared to be on friendly terms. In the spring of 1787, when they set out for their respective headquarters at the Grand Portage, they travelled in company with the river companies singing their chansons in chorus. The competition was so keen that the heads of the two companies, Northwest and Mcleod, must join or both would

continually be in turmoil. This was accomplished, but not until financial loss and bloodshed had resulted. After a most thorough search for a competent man for the leadership of the new coalition company, the young Alexander Mackenzie, only in his early twenties, was chosen. Then the newly organized Northwest Company, on a broader basis, turned to the affairs in that district.

Now this country had been trapped for more than ten years. It is a succession of lakes, there being fully a dozen, namely Great Slave Lake, Rainy Lake, English Lake, Lake of Hills, and Lake Athabasca. These mentioned were the larger bodies of water, others smaller are not recounted here. Mackenzie reorganized the whole system about these lakes, discontinued some forts and constructed others. He appointed his cousin as his chief lieutenant.

Mackenzie became well acquainted with the immediate country about the lakes, and as some of them finally discharged their waters in Hudson Bay, he became enamoured to find out where the others discharged their waters. Each lake had a river drawing away its waters. Mackenzie became greatly interested now in discovery, more than in trapping, which he left largely to his cousin Roderick. The river discharging the waters of Great Slave Lake disturbed him in his dreams and he determined to learn where it led to the ocean and what ocean received the impulse of that discharge.

The discovery idea grew day by day and finally he decided to take a complement of men and follow that river, if necessary to its end, even if that end meant

the end of the earth. He might find new fields for trapping for the enriching of the company and gain to himself a crown of imperishable glory. "On July 14, 1789, at nine o'clock in the morning, Alexander Mackenzie gazed on a school of whales disporting on the waters of the Arctic Ocean, for he had achieved the object which he had determined upon: the exploration of the great river of the north." He had explored a new Goshen, not flowing with milk and honey, but rich in bears and other fur bearing animals. He had penetrated far into the north near where Captain Cook had hunted in vain for the fabled waters separating Asia and North America.

The details of Mackenzie's explorations are as thrilling as anything of the kind that has been enacted on any exploration on the American continent. Five men were lost in the memorable attempt to learn of the unknown; to learn something that no other person had ever learned, or to find something that was not known to exist, that has ever lured the curiosity of impetuous man to endure hardship unbearable and to take chances where they are ten to one against human endurance. Mackenzie was one such. He would storm the ramparts of the unknown, not knowing what lay beyond—glory or death. In all these explorations there was always a double desire, one was gold, the other was glory. Mackenzie started out for gold (filthy lucre), but toward the last, glory stood highest in the scale of his exertions.

We might continue this narrative further, but we have said enough to show the intrepidity of this son of old Scotland. We will not attempt to give Mac-

kenzie's report of his wonderful trip to and from the Arctic. Like all other explorers, Mackenzie was subject to criticism. There were those who critised his actions, even members of his company considered that he had wasted time and money to no good purpose. And those who had been left behind to carry on the business were inclined to jest about Mackenzie's wasted effort. Even McTavish was inclined to belittle the consequences of the expedition. This attitude of McTavish grew as the years went on until the two men became real enemies. The old adage is again proved, that a prophet receives no honor save in his own country and many times not even in his own country.

Mackenzie had so often heard the Indians speak of the river which ran to the west, the Oregon of Jonathan Carver, that he finally determined to learn more of that river, and put his information "on paper." He now became wonderfully absorbed with the desire to go west and hunt that river. Now it would seem that he was ready to drop the idea of working for financial remuneration and work for glory only. While out of harmony with his partners he still for awhile, continued to look after the welfare of the company.

Returning to Fort Chipewan, he sent Roderick to the Great Slave Lake. "His own journey thither had convinced him of several things. One was the advisability of instituting some sort of tribal government among the Indians under a ruling chief, the object of this being to organize the people under his nominee, with a view of securing the whole of their catch of furs." Writing to Roderick on March 2, 1791, he

said. "I hope you will make all possible inquiry regarding the country of the Beaver Indians as well as the country of the Slaves, and more particularly regarding a great river which is reported to run parallel with, and finally falls into the sea westward of the river in which I voyaged, and commit such information to writing." The use of the expression "more particularly" shows that Mackenzie was thinking more about "that river" than he was about catching beaver. To be sure he was giving much effort to keep up the profits of the company, as his own financial necessities and competance in old age depended upon the success of the company. But his musings were something like this: A prophet hath little renown, even in his own country, nor have I received any honor in my company for my long journey of discovery. What my associates failed to do, my rivals in the trade acknowledge and determine to improve upon.

The Hudson's Bay Company decided to improve on the example set by Mackenzie, and do some exploring on their own account. Peter Pond heretofore mentioned as manager for some years about these lakes, held about all the information thereabouts, which he had carefully mapped, showing the general topography of the locality. Imperfect as this map was, it was the only guide obtainable and accepted as reasonabley accurate. Peter Pond did not know anything of the coast line, and consequently it did not harmonize with Captain Cook's drawing made at the time of his search for the Northwest passage. Still the map of Peter Pond was better than none. With all the information obtainable, the distance from Lake

Athabasca to the Pacific was greatly underestimated at less than two hundred miles.

The Hudson's Bay Company was determined to head off any effort of Mackenzie to find the Oregon River and open up the country for the benefit of the amalgamated company. So they sent out from England, one Phillip Turner to conduct an expedition to the Pacific coast. The Hudson's Bay Company had the endorsement of Her Britanic Majesty's government, "While feeling some faint desire to acquire information respecting the boundaries of their possessions in North America." Turner was perfectly ignorant of mountain life and as to be expected, he encountered difficulties at every step.

At this time Mackenzie was on his way east in the interest of his company (the Northwestern), and by accident met Turner on the way out. He wrote his cousin who was in charge, as follows: "I find the intention of the expedition is discovery only. I also find the party ill prepared for the undertaking and there is nothing to fear from that quarter." Mackenzie went on to London, purchased astronomical instruments, and took a course of schooling as to the use of these instruments. While returning from his expedition to the Arctic Ocean he had wasted much time through lack of instruments and knowledge of astronomy, and was determined to do a better job of exploring should he further hunt for the river of the west.

When he was sure of his equipment and knowledge of astronomical instruments, he took a ship for Montreal in the spring of 1792. (Remember what Gray

and Vancouver are doing in the same year on the Pacific hunting for the mouth of the river.) During the summer of 1792, Mackenzie was with his cousin Roderick building a fort at Athabasca Lake for the trade on the Peace River. While his mind was full of the idea of the exploration, still he did not neglect the preparations for the winter's catch on Peace River, and cultivating the friendship of the neighboring Indians to insure the winning of their trade for the winter.

"Having made every necessary preparation, I left Fort Chipewan to proceed to Peace River. I had resolved to go as far as our most distant settlement, which would occupy the remaining part of the season (1792), it being the route by which I proposed to attempt my next discovery across the mountains from the source of that river. For whatever distance I could reach this fall would be a proportionate advancement of my voyage." In his own canoe, Mackenzie took a sufficient amount of supplies for several days use, in advance of James Findlay, Junior, who departed with supplies for the new establishment which had been placed under his care and was situated up the Peace River farther than the old one to which Mackenzie had dispatched Boyer four years ago.

I give the above to show that while Mackenzie was so wonderfully absorbed in the preparation of the expedition west, still he was not forgetful nor neglectful of the best interests of his company.

On the 12th of October, 1792, the start was made up a branch of the Peace River, up which the bateaus were taken for nine hundred miles from the north, before a portage was necessary. The campfires found

at the portage showed that the first detachment was shortly ahead. They soon overtook the leaders. After the winter rendezvous and the gathering of furs on the way and at camp, Mackenzie sent back part of the men with six boat loads of furs to Roderick.

On May 8, 1793, he wrote Roderick as follows: "Forks Peace River, May 8, 1793, Dear Rory—I have been so vexed and disturbed of late that I cannot sit down to anything steadily. The Indians, generally, have disappointed me in this hunt. I have had great trouble to procure young men to accompany me in my expeditions; none of them like it. I at last prevailed on three; a fourth was desirous to go, but I would not take him, and to be revenged he induced my guide to run away, and both disappeared last evening. The two remaining Indians know no more of the country than I do myself, and it may be that they are on the eve of following the example of the others, for no dependance can be put on the promise of any of these people.

"The guide who deserted me was acquainted with another large river to the westward of this at a distance of two day's march, but the difficulty is to find that river out. At any rate, we are too far advanced in the undertaking, not to make the attempt. I never was so undecided in my intentions as this year regarding my going to the Portage or remaining inland. I weighed everything in my mind over and over again, and cannot find that my opponents there can do me any injury without running the risk of imparing their own interests; therefore I ought to fear nothing on that score. With this weight on my mind, and with my

desire to mix in the business at Grand Portage, I would not have remained inland had I any intention of continuing in the country beyond the ensuing winter. Should I be successful, I shall retire with great advantage; if not, I cannot be worse off than I am at present.

"I begin to think it is the height of folly in a man to reside in a country of this kind, deprived of every comfort that can render life agreeable, especially when he has a competency sufficient to enjoy life in a civilized society, which ought to be the case with me."

On the ninth day after the above was written, Mackenzie wrote to Roderick, "I send you a couple of guineas; the rest I take with me to traffic with the Russians." There can be no doubt but he expected to reach Russian American outposts, believing the great river he was hunting emptied into the Arctic, as did the Mackenzie River.

At seven o'clock in the evening of Thursday, May 9, 1793, Alexander Mackenzie left Forks Fort and began the voyage to the Pacific, still pulling up the Peace River which was growing less, and more difficult of navigation. The men with him were nine in number as follows: Alexander McKay, his lieutenant, an experienced mountain man who had arrived at Fort Chipewan a few weeks before Mackenzie left there for Peace River; two Indians for hunters and interpreters and six French-Canadians—Jasper Landry, Charles Ducette, Francois Beaulieux, Baptist Bisson, Francois Courtois and James Beauchamp. They took with them provisions, goods for presents to the Indians, arms, ammunition and baggage to the amount of three thousand pounds weight, and one dog.

Their craft was a birch canoe twenty-five feet long, four feet nine inches beam, and twenty-six inches deep. It was so light, two men could carry it on a good trail three or four miles without a rest. To take care of the fort and supply the Indians with ammunition for the summer, he left two men who shed tears in anticipation of the dangers their friends were about to encounter, while Mackenzie's companions offered up their prayers for a safe return.

The trip up the Peace River and later up the Parsnip River is a fascinating story full of thrills, especially after entering the Parsnip River. Many times their boat was wrecked and had to be repaired, each time becoming heavier as many pounds of pitch was heated and poured into the seams of the birchwood bark. One who wants to read all the particulars of this wonderful expedition, will find all the details in M. S. Wade's "Life and Adventures of Alexander Mackenzie." There are hundreds of incidents of great interest and many thrilling occurrences, all of which show the wonderful adroitness and indomitable will in Mackenzie's character. The fact is patent that all our explorers from the days of the Ericsons have been men of great sagacity, of iron will and of almost superhuman endurance. Alexander Mackenzie was no exception to the rule.

His capacity to calm an insurrection among his own men seemed to have no limit. When a great explorer is on the water and the life of all depends upon sagacious action it is much easier to quell a mutiny. But travelling over mountains where a man can safely desert, save himself while others suffer, requires a

special temperment, to quell all disturbances and restore peace and equanimity among hostile or disgruntled men. The general's orders and his special commands are obeyed because he has power to execute. But not so among a lot of volunteers or hired men, where they can drop out one by one and take their chances. Many times Mackenzie's men resolved among themselves to turn back, while nothing but the glowing prospects of accomplishment pictured by Mackenzie, quelled their fears and calmed their spirits.

One very remarkable thing, to this writer, is that in following of crooked streams and transferring from one river to another, the latitudes in the travels did not vary more than two or three degrees, in the long and tedious journey travelled from the Slave Lake to the Pacific Ocean, without sufficient guides, except an occasional Indian who was picked up on the way. The theory was to follow up the largest river to its source, then follow down the first stream running west to its confluence with the sea, where all great rivers must finally terminate.

The expedition, as stated before, reached the Pacific July 22, 1793, and Mackenzie's chronicler states that "he turned his back to the monument's inscription and started on his return trip. He well knew that he must return before the snows blocked all hope for travel for that year." Without giving any details, we will only say that Mackenzie arrived at the Fort, May 9, 1794, having been gone nine months and having not lost a man in the mean time.

"At length, as we rounded a point and came in view of the Fort, we threw out a flag and accompanied it

with a general discharge of our firearms; while the men were in such spirits and made such an active use of their paddles that we arrived before the two men we left here in the spring could recouver from their shock, to answer us. Thus we landed at four in the afternoon at the place where we left on the 9th of May. Here my voyages of discovery terminated." "Their toils and dangers, their solicitudes and sufferings have not been exaggerated in my description. On the contrary, in many instances language failed me in the attempt to describe them. I received, however, the reward of my labors, for they were crowned with success."

Mackenzie did not find the great river he was hunting for, but nevertheless his was one of the landmarks of history. It had the element of originality in it much more than did the expedition of Lewis and Clarke ten years later. The tracing of the Mackenzie River to the Arctic and the Peace River to its source, then down the Fraser River and to the Pacific are achievements enough for one man to entitle him to a place among the great explorers. Mackenzie retained his interest in the company and obtained an interest in the Hudson's Bay Company. He was knighted by the English government and became the best loved man throughout England and Scotland. He married in 1812, lived a life of ease and pleasure until 1820, when he went the way of all the earth. Mackenzie's historian closes as follows, with this quotation from Gray's Elegy:

No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailities from their dread abode,
There they alike in trembling hope repose,
The bosom of his father and his God.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LEWIS AND CLARKE EXPEDITION

THE arrangments having all been completed for the journey, as soon as the weather was suitable in the spring of 1804, the Lewis and Clarke expedition to hunt for and trace out the source, the course and termination of the great river of the west, was started on its way. These two captains had wintered with their equipment, on the east bank of the Mississippi River near where now stands the city of St. Louis.

On the 14th day of May, 1804, they started for the Missouri. Here we will give a part of the instructions to Lewis and Clarke: "Although your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavor to inform yourselves, by inquiry of the character and extent of the country watered by the branches, and especially on its southern side. . . . . Some account too, of the path of the Canadian trappers from the Mississippi at the mouth of the Quisconsin to where it strikes the Missouri and if the soil is desirable." Then President Jefferson gives instructions as to the treatment to be accorded to the Indians. He gives elaborate instructions as to how the sick should be cared for. One of Mr. Jefferson's objects was to establish friendly relations with the natives wherever found. "As far up the Missouri River as the white settlement, an intercourse will probably be found to exist between them and the Spanish Posts of St. Louis opposite the Kaskaskia. From still further up the river the traders may furnish a conveyance for

letters. Beyond that you may perhaps, be able to engage Indians to bring letters for the government to Kaskaskia or St. Genevive, on promise that they shall receive such special compensation as you have stipulated with them." These instructions are very prolix as the reader will observe. There are many pages of these instructions which are uninteresting to the reader, for that reason we will be excused from reciting them in full.

By the middle of summer the expedition had passed what is now known as Iowa and the Dakotas, and reached the haunts of the grizzly bear, and the "barking squirrels," (prairie dogs), and by late November, reached the country of the Mandan Indians. Here the expedition halted and went into winter quarters nearby. It was the seventh of April, 1805, before the snow had left the ground in suitable condition for travel. Here the captains employed the Frenchman, Chaboneau and his Indian wife, Sacajawea, as guides and interpreters, for the expedition. This woman had, when a young girl, been stolen from the Shoshone tribe of Indians, and raised by the Mandans. The expedition will pass through the country of her people. From here the captains sent a letter to President Jefferson, containing a full report of their travels and daily records. This letter was the last message sent back by Lewis or Clarke while on the route, either going or returning, as no other opportunity offered, until the return, in the fall of 1806. When they reached the Yellowstone River they could not claim discovery, for the trappers had already been working on that stream. Their first introduction to the Rocky Moun-

tains was on May 26, 1805. The real mountains began not far from the Priest rapids near the present town: "Carral Mountain." The many turns, crooks and ramifications of the Missouri were a great source of annoyance to the captains and a very great hinderance to their progress. There was no scarcity of meat while passing through the buffalo country as these clumsy animals were easily slain. During their rendezvous in camp, in the winter of 1804 and 1805, the monotony of camp life was not serious. The men were busy much of the time making boats suitable for navigating shallow riffles and of a lightness to be carried past necessary portages. On July 4th, we find the following entry in their journal: "Since our arrival at the falls we have repeatedly heard a strange noise coming from the direction of the mountain west of our course. It is heard at intervals of the day and night. Sometimes when the air is perfectly still, and without a cloud, the noise consists of one stroke, only, or five or six discharges in quick succession, and is loud, resembling precisely the sound of a six pound piece of ordinance at a distance of six miles. The Minnetaries frequently mentioned this noise like thunder, which, they said the mountains made; but we had paid no attention to it, believing it to have been some superstition or perhaps a falsehood. The watermen of the party, also say that the Pawnees and Ricraias give the same account of the noise in the black mountains to the westward of them. The solution of the mystery given by the philosophy of the watermen is: that it is occasioned by the bursting of the rich mines of silver confined in the bosom of the moun-

tain. An elk and a beaver was all that we killed today. The buffalo seem to have withdrawn from our neighborhood. Several of our men went to the falls today for the first time, and mention that the elk are still abundant at that place. We contrived, however, to spread, not a very sumptuous, but comfortable table in honor of the day. In the evening we gave the men a drink of spirits, which was the last of our stock. Some of the men appeared sensible of the effects of even the small quantity, and as usual among them at all feasts, the fiddle was produced and a dance was begun which lasted until nine oclock, when it was interrupted by a heavy shower of rain. They continued, however, to a late hour. Next day a herd of buffalo came near and we killed three of them." The above is but one-half of the usual daily entry in the journal. The reader will notice that the privations and hardships of the journey had not told severely on the men as yet. But the hardest of the journey is to come. When men are peering into the unknown there is always a something which acts as a magnet to draw them on to the new and the strange and to keep up the interest. More than two weeks were consumed in making the portage at the falls, as it was July fifteenth before the expedition was again in motion on the water. The portage just accomplished necessitated the carrying all the accoutrements and the supplies above seventeen miles up a steep and rough mountain. Surely this was a gigantic job and a rough introduction to the mountains. But the company is in fine spirits and fair health mostly; nothing in particular to discourage. The journal now begins to be more interesting than heretofore, describ-

ing the birds and animals peculiar to the Rocky Mountain region, and the peculiarity of the river. In the journal of July nineteen we read the following: "Nothing can be imagined more tremendous than the frowning darkness of the rocks which project over the river and menace us with destruction. The river is one hundred and fifty yards in width, seems to have forced its channel down this solid mass, but so reluctantly has it given way that during the whole distance the water is very deep, even at the edges, and for the first three miles there is not a spot, except one of a few yards, in which a man could stand between the water and the towering, perpendicular of the mountain. The convulsions that opened this passage must have been terrible, since at its outlet, there are vast columns of rock torn from the mountain which are strewn on both sides of the river, the trophies as it were, of victory." The above quotation shows a deep absorption of interest which acts as a tonic for their tired muscles and otherwise fatigued brain.

The expedition made very good time after the great falls were passed, Lewis and Clarke traveling apart, Clarke on the right bank and Lewis on the left, both noting down observations and Lewis taking distances and courses with his instruments. Many islands in the river were closely observed by the men in the boats. The journal shows that nothing of importance escaped the eye of Lewis or Clarke, as the general conformation of the topography of the country was passed. The birds, animals, trees, flowers and soils all were noted down carefully and so elaborately that it requires three volumes to contain their observations. The

river now divides into three branches so equal in size that it was difficult to decide which should bear the name "Missouri." "They each are ninety yards wide and so perfectly similar in character and appearance that they seem to have been formed in the same mold. We were therefore induced to discontinue the name of Missouri and give the southwest branch the name of Jefferson in honor of the President of the United States and the projector of this expedition, and called the middle branch Madison, after James Madison. These two, as well as the Gallatin River, run with great velocity and throw out great volumes of water. Gallatin River is, however, the most rapid of the three and though not quite as deep, yet navigable for a considerable distance. Madison River though much less rapid than the Gallatin is somewhat more rapid than the Jefferson. The beds of all of them are formed of smooth gravel and pebbles and the waters are perfectly transparent." "Sacajawea our Indian woman informs us that we are encamped on the precise spot where her countrymen, the Shoshone Indians had their huts five years ago, when the Minnetaries of Knife River first came in sight of them, and from which they hastily retreated three miles up the Jefferson and concealed themselves in the woods. The Minnetaries, however, pursued and attacked them, killing four men and many women and a number of boys, and made prisoners of four other boys and all the females of whom Sacajawea was one. She does not, however, show any distress at the recollections, nor any joy for the prospect of being restored to her country; for she seems to possess the folly or the philosophy of not

suffering her feelings to extend beyond her ability of having plenty to eat and a few trinkets to wear." Farther on the way Sacajawea pointed out the place where she was caught and made prisoner. The usual notes are made as they proceed. Deer and other game are plentiful. Four deer were killed July 31st. The river is growing less but more rapid. After making friends of the Shoshone Indians Captain Lewis concluded to go out on a reconnoitering expedition while Captain Clarke was slowly bringing the boats up the rapids of the Jefferson river. Captain Lewis learned much from the Indians about the course and the source of the streams. He was told that some rivers draining much of the Shoshone country did not flow into the rivers up which the white men were coming, but coursed to the west and finally made one very long and large river, that emptied into a big water where very large canoes with white men, sometimes could be seen. From this information Captain Lewis felt sure that these rivers were the source of the Columbia. These Indians also told Captain Lewis that the nearest one was impassable for many hundreds of miles for canoes, and that the country was so rough that no road or trail could be made along the banks of the river, but that there was another river farther north that had a very rough trail down near its bank that could be traveled with riding or pack horses. "These two rivers" they said, after many small waters came into them, joined together and made one large river. But Captain Lewis was disinclined to believe the story of the impassableness of the nearer course. It might be that the river was too rough for

navigation and the mountain too precipitous for horses, but he must see for himself, then he would act accordingly. He persuaded the old chief to return with him and meet the expedition coming up the Jefferson. They found Captain Clarke well nigh over the rapids of the Jefferson. On relating the old chief's story of the big river to the northwest and his doubts of the impracticability of navigating the waters of the nearest river, he determined to have the river explored at once. So Captain Clarke took his turn at the job. With several men to assist him, Captain Clarke set out in advance of the Expedition to disprove the old Chief's opinion. But after more than one week's hard work he coincided with the opinion of old Chief Camewait. After gaining full confidence in the judgment and honesty of Camewait, the old Chief was employed to pilot the expedition overland down the course of the river to the northwest. As this route could only be made by the use of horses a lively trade sprung up in horseflesh. The Shoshones could not spare enough horses to carry all the equipage and leave enough riding horses for the men. So they were compelled to resort to relays, alternating between walking and riding, until water navigation was again possible. About the whole month of August was consumed in getting through the country of the Shoshones. Almost another month slipped away while getting over the mountains. At different times the company had to resort to horseflesh for subsistence, by killing some of the almost famished, faithful beasts.

On the 27th of September, the expedition reached a good stream, which the Indians assured the captains,

was a branch of the big river. So they began to unpack their equipment and construct boats and small canoes. The captains had the remaining horses slaughtered and preserved with what salt they still had. When the boats were completed, all hands with their plunder were committed to the wave as though they were off for a picnic. This river is now known as the Lewis River. By the first of November they were in the great Columbia, after many small mishaps and much trouble getting over shoals and through rapids. Many times the boats were unloaded in order that the cargo could be aired or dried. By the middle of November, the travelers began to see many Indians who crowded around the evening campfires after their boats were moored for the night. From now on nearly all the Indians whom they met had trinkets, tools, curios, etc., which had been obtained from white traders. For twelve or more years ships had been crossing the Columbia bar. And many more years had elapsed since the Spaniards and other white men had been along the coast trading with the coast Indians who had more or less communication with Indians of the upper Columbia. The Fuca and Nootka Indians gathered furs from the interior for trade with their white visitors. We think this the true version of how the white-made articles came to be found along the upper Columbia at the time of the Lewis and Clarke expedition in 1805. Occasionally hats, caps, coats and pants, and women's apparel might be seen. But we have found no evidence that any white man had before this time been on the upper Columbia. After reaching the Lewis River, the boat-

ing was easier and the portages much less frequent. As the company came nearer the great river, all were on the alert to view the great master of the northwest. A mighty thrill shot through the soul of each as the rolling waves welcomed the white man who had come to verify the words of William Cullen Bryant: "Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound save his own dashing." Could the Indians have heard that statement and understood it they might not have appreciated it as a compliment to their lack of industry. From this time on the progress was more rapid than any time since starting up the Missouri, more than one year before. After passing the great portages, where the locks are now built, and have been in operation for many years, the expeditioners were made extremely happy by the discovery that they were in tide water. Numerous stops were made as they proceeded down the Columbia, in order that the hunters could show their prowess among the deer and elk. Since reaching the upper Columbia the salmon had been the principal article of diet. Now the change to good, fat elk meat was certainly appreciated. All the way down the river innumerable Indians were continually hailing the white men for trade, as white men had been known quite well since the advent of Gray and Kendrick.

Possibly some of the older Indians had seen a few of the early Spanish navigators about Nootka. It was late in November when the sight of the breakers on the bar told the travelers that their wanderings were about over. Captain Lewis took, with his instruments, the latitude and longitude which verified the location as taken by Captain Gray, May 11th,

1792. This settled the question forever in the affirmative: Is the Columbia River identical with the Oregon mentioned by Jonathan Carver? The balance of the month was spent in looking for a suitable location for establishing winter quarters, as winter was daily showing a mastery over the season. The men inhabited a temporary camp until December.

After a full week's rain, hunting for a suitable place for making salt, they found such conditions proper for that purpose. Salt was a very necessary article in preparing their food for the return trip, as the expedition should make better time in returning than in coming out, and the hunters would have little time to make forays for game.

By the eighth of December a suitable site had been selected for the winter quarters. A fort was constructed and here the expedition settled, carrying on what explorings were feasible until March 23d, when the expedition started on the homeward journey. From the time the company arrived at tidewater to the next spring, when they left tidewater, the hunters killed more than one hundred of the majestic elk. The progress up the Columbia was very slowly made, as the current in the river was strong at that time of year and there was no good path along the river for foot traveling. That faithful Diary was not neglected. Mention was made of the general contour of the Columbia gorge with its mountain—towering rocks and wonderful waterfalls, leaping a thousand feet at a jump, where tourists, on the magnifient Columbia Highway, are now feasting their eyes and regaling their souls on the unsurpassable beauties in this now

world famed gorge. Progress seemed to be quite slow up the river and over the mountains until the Missouri carried the now lighter loads down her welcome waters. The captains made numerous stops on the way down the Missouri to again greet the various tribes with whom they had made a favorable impression on their way out. The woman, Sacajawea, and her husband, were continually with the expedition from the Mandan village, on the outward trip and until its return to the Mandan village, their home, where they were bid adieu. The real commercial value of the expedition, which was the last of the great expeditions which have peopled nearly all the western country with the white race, is beyond human calculation. Its importance beggars all attempts at description or estimate, and gives Lewis and Clarke, along with their brave, untiring, assiduous companions a conspicuous position among the great explorers. The report on the country, as required by President Jefferson, was carried out to the letter, and has not been equalled by any explorer found in history. Captain Lewis certainly surpassed the President's most ardent expectations in finesse of its execution. We do not know that Mr. Jefferson was familiar with the triumph of the expedition of Alexander Mackenzie made the year 1794, farther north, when Lewis and Clarke returned. Neither do we know how much importance he attached to either of the expeditions. But since we feel as we do in regard to the importance of the work of Lewis and Clarke we also, in justice to Mackenzie, will say, that his expedition was the best and most important claim that England had against

the Oregon country. It is our opinion that in the absence of this feature for claims, England could not have substantiated her claim for any portion of the Oregon country. While Mackenzie's exploration was not so elaborate, still in this writer's opinion, it was the wedge that split the great northwest in twain and gave to England a foothold that peopled the northern part with a competitor in the northwest.

CHAPTER XVII

CHAIN OF DISCOVERY

LINK 1—CANARY ISLANDS REDISCOVERED BY THE FRENCH THROUGH A FREAK OF THE EAST WIND

A FREAK of the east wind early in the fifteenth century was the cause of the rediscovery of the Canary Islands by the French. The great impulsive greed for slaves begins. This is the day when discovery becomes the all important business of the times. The lodestone is discovered and the magnetic needle has banished much of the sailor's fear of becoming lost. The slave trade is now placed on a financial basis and the sailors are anxious to enter into the game of catching the inhabitants of any islands to be found. Within the next few years nearly all the Canaries were discovered and ravished.

LINK 2—DIAZ DISCOVERS CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

These ravishers gradually worked down until the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Bartholomew Diaz who rounded the cape then returned to report. This welcome news created a wonderful excitement in the minds of the seafaring folks and speculators.

LINK 3—COLUMBUS DISCOVERS AMERICA

Christopher Columbus and his elder brother were with Diaz at this time and were greatly elated over the part they had taken in the world's greatest Discovery. From this time on Christopher Columbus longed for the day when he, too, could become famous by some

startling discovery. Columbus' father-in-law, Perestello, was a great geographer and when he died Christopher fell heir to Perestello's great library. This he read thoroughly, as well as the works of Marco Polo. The fires of discovery were cooling down in the general mind until Columbus discovered America, at which they blazed up stronger than ever before.

LINK 4—VASCO DE GAMMA GOES TO INDIA

If Columbus could go to the Indies via of the west, Vasco de Gama could go there in the opposite direction and that he would do, and he did. Excitement knew no bounds. Some believed, some disbelieved. All were excited to the highest pitch.

LINK 5—BALBOA DISCOVERS THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Next Balboa, who was with Columbus on his trip of the discovery of America, published to the world that he had passed over to the western side of terra-firma and found a wonderful ocean which appeared to be of immense dimensions. Another sky rocket went blazing through the intellectual heavens. The great question was: How can we get to that ocean with our ships?

LINK 6—MAGELLAN SAILS THE PACIFIC

Magellan, a friend of Columbus, a friend of Balboa, a friend of de Gama, said: I can find the way. Give me ships and men and I will find the way if the two oceans meet, or die in the attempt. Magellan did both, found the way and perished at the hands of the natives he discovered. One of his ships, the Victoria, girdled the earth and reached the home port amidst

thundering applause. The world of enthusiasts again went wild. The world-flat contenders were silenced forever.

LINK 7—THE SPANISH MONOPOLIZE THE PACIFIC

Spain, sailing on a field of glory, undertook to claim the sole right to operate in the Pacific, to be the sole beneficiary of the discoveries of Balboa and Magellan.

LINK 8—DRAKE PLAYS HOB WITH THE SPANISH

All the other leading nations took umbrage at the audacity of the Spanish claim and her haughty, mendacious and malevolent bearing. No nation was strong enough to justify a declaration of war on the Spanish for some years. But finally, England felt that she could no longer endure the insults and depradations of the enemy, fitted out Captain Francis Drake with the fleetest ships that ever had been built, or cut the waters of any ocean, and sent him into the Pacific Ocean to avenge herself for Spanish insults and injuries.

Drake succeeded beyond all expectations and somewhat put a severe crimp in the operations of the Spanish in the Pacific. Passed up the Mexican coast and beyond to the twenty-third parallel of north latitude, naming the interior "New Albion." Drake sailed home via the Cape of Good Hope. Thus girdling the earth as did Magellan's Victoria, in time to immortalize himself in the battle with the Spanish Armada and win for himself the coveted knighthood.

Drake entered the Pacific bent on destroying the

Spanish forts and robbing and destroying the Spanish galleons and making discoveries along the Mexican shore of the Pacific. Drake's expedition was so successful that the Spanish partially ceased their depredations in the Pacific and gave their attention to building up the Invincible (?) Armada for the purpose of dominating all Europe or crushing the European monarchies, making vassels of them all. England crushed the Armada and then began building up her own naval equipment.

When the English Colonies in America revolted with prospects of success, England fearing the loss of power in the north Atlantic turned her eyes toward the north Pacific, Drake's New Albion.

LINK 9—BEHRING DISCOVERS THE STRAIT

During the great calm in exploration, after Captain Drake had created havoc with the Spanish supremacy in the Pacific, Vitus Behring broke the monotony by his prodigous explorations in the extreme North-Pacific. He discovered the strait (Behring) between America and Asia; dispelled the Gamaland fiction; discovered Alaska and forged his Link in the Chain with the fire of his indomitable spirit and welded it with the last drops of his life-giving blood.

LINK 10—COOK GOES WEST TO ALASKA AND FAILS TO CONFIRM BEHRING

Captain James Cook with two fine ships was dispatched to the Pacific Ocean to get, if possible, a foothold between Mexico and Alaska, and make a thorough search for the fabled strait of Anain, and thereby win the prize of £20,000.

Cook failed to find the fabled Anian or any other northwest passage. But discovered the Sandwich Islands and many other islands, and his ships like Drake's ships, circumnavigated the globe.

LINK 11—GRAY AND KENDRICK HUNT FOR THE COLUMBIA

After the Americo-Anglican war was concluded, America sent out Gray and Kendrick with ships to cruise the Northwest Pacific for the dual purpose of trade, and exploration for finding the river Oregon.

About the same time England sent out George Vancouver for the selfsame purpose.

The final search was made. The long sought mystery was solved. The last link in the mystic chain is forged. The anchor with the last link is dropped by Captain Gray into the swelling tide of Carver's Oregon, the great Columbia, at 46°, 10′ north latitude, May 11, 1792, where it will remain forever.

Alexander Mackenzie confirmed the supposition; Lewis and Clarke proved the fact and the whole world accepted the consummation.

Well might Bishop Berkley sing:

Westward the course of empire takes its way,
The first four acts already passed,
The fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Times noblest offspring is the last.

We will now give a few chapters on the era of settlement in the Oregon country.

CHAPTER XVIII

EARLY ACTIVITIES IN THE OREGON COUNTRY

THE Hudson's Bay Company and the other Canadian companies doing a trapping business in Canada, on hearing that the United States and England were at loggerheads as to the ownership of the Oregon country, began at intervals, to slowly extend their operations to the west, soon reaching the disputed territory. The trappers and pelt hunters from the north finally swarmed over the Oregon county, building many trading posts in a chain reaching from the great lakes to the north and the Red River country to the Pacific Ocean. From sixteen to twenty American companies also established trading posts. After the Canadian companies, in 1824, combined a terrible boycott was set up against the Americans until every American trader was driven out of business or employed by the Canadian company.

Such was the condition in the far west when the first missionaries were sent out from the states by the foreign missionary societies: The Methodist Episcopals in 1834, the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1836, and the Catholics in 1838. We have now reached the era of settlement which was the dominant factor in giving the better part of the country to the United States. When in 1824 the Canadian companies coalesced, Dr. John McLoughlin, who had been head of the Northwest, became the manager of the consolidated company. He conducted the business in the old name of the "Hudson's Bay Company."

We shall in the succeeding chapters undertake to show how the title was settled, the country divided between the United States and England, the only contenders, and the establishing of civilization and the securing of territorial government, bearing in mind the principals, or many of them, who were responsible for the fine condition of progress which speedily followed, and is still, in 1929, moving forward at an accelerated rate.

From the time of the Louisiana purchase and the exploration of Lewis and Clarke and that of Alexander Mackenzie, the conflicting claims of the United States and England became quite acrimonious and at times, the indications were that war would be the only arbiter. Nearly all the population in the country was English and French-Canadians who were mostly in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, which company was gathering many thousands of beaver and other pelts annually. The gateway to the market for this valuable merchandise was through the waters of the Columbia. When the United States and England agreed, in 1818, to let their interests rest in abeyance for ten years, any one with reasonable vision could see that population would be a large factor in deciding sovereignty.

When the ten years of joint occupancy had expired in 1828, little change in the matter of population had taken place. The Hudson's Bay Company was still growing, and a dozen or more of the old employees of the company who had married Indian women had gone into farming in the Willamette valley. They were raising hogs and cattle for the company, selling their

overplus to the Russians in Alaska, or to the Spaniards in California.

The splendid yields of grain from the land and the quality of the products produced, together with a mild salubrious climate, made Oregon a desirous place for settlement and a great incentive to immigration. Persons on explorations or other pretext had published the possibilities of the country to such an extent that many thousands of people were comparing the advantages of the west with the disadvantages of their own situation. The only real drawback seemed to be the lack of government and the dislike of the Hudson's Bay Company for immigration. This company well knew that civilization would, in time exterminate the wild game of the country and thereby ruin the fur and peltry business, the great source of the company's wealth.

Reports were also going the rounds that the Indians were not receiving instruction looking forward toward fitting them for citizenship or a more advanced life. The company was simply using the Indian for its own sordid purpose without the least concern for his advancement above the condition in which he was found. No lessons in religion, morality, industry or frugality were being given. Simply robbing him of the wealth of his country and that without stint. Finally the Indians took up the matter themselves and sent deputations to the borders of civilization to ask for teachers who would teach them the better way of the white man.

By 1840 the era of settlement had gotten fairly under way. A few people had been drifting into the

Willamette Valley until by 1840 the Americans predominated in numbers. The second period of joint occupancy had expired in 1838 and the residents were getting restless for government. The contending countries, England and the United States, were no nearer to an agreement on the question of sovereignty than ten years back. Prior to 1843 the white settlers had made several abortive efforts to organize, which resulted in some improvement. But in 1843 the effort was renewed and a Provisional government was fully organized which lasted until the congress passed the enabling territorial act, February 14, 1849, after the compromise between the United States and England was agreed upon, by dividing the domain at the forty-ninth degree north latitude, giving the United States the southern portion and England the northern portion. This appeared to many to be a fair distribution. Alexander Mackenzie was a citizen of England and was the first white man to traverse the whole breadth of the country in the north and that before Lewis and Clarke crossed the moutains and reached the Pacific, in 1805.

We cannot enter into this question at this time to bring out the arguments for or against the justice of the question as settled. A volume of no mean proportion would be required for a full discussion of the settlement of that matter and to explain the contentions. It is enough to say that there were many points which contained much merit that had to be relinquished before an agreement could be reached. When in 1849 the line being permanently established, each power passed enabling acts and established in their

domains, their governments. The people of Oregon turned the provisional government over to the United States, and harmony has prevailed between the contending parties now for more than a century with but one slight misunderstanding.

The United States looks upon England as the mother country and England has long since forgiven the hasty actions of her child in 1776.

CHAPTER XIX

BENJAMIN L. BONNEVILLE

BENJAMIN L. BONNEVILLE, known as Captain Bonneville, was born in France in 1795; came to the United States in his youth and was educated in the east. He attended West Point and graduated from the Military School before he was twenty-one.

Bonneville must have risen in the estimation of the higher officers, as he went into the Mexican War as Colonel of the Third Infantry in 1855. In 1861, he retired and was promoted Brevet Brigadier-General in 1865.

He had made a favorable acquaintance with John Jacob Astor, the great fur dealer of New York City. Astor evidently talked much about the wonderful West until the General was seized with the laudable desire to see the West for himself. He talked of the West with his friends, told them of his wish to see that much-talked-of country. The result was that a company was formed for such an exploration as the general desired. The money was raised by his friends for the purpose. Application was made at headquarters for a few years absence, which was granted.

On May 1, 1832, Bonneville took his departure from Fort Osage on the Missouri River. His company consisted of one hundred or more men who were accustomed to mountain expeditions for hunting and trapping. Their troubles and hardships were not dissimilar from those of other times. This party of an hundred men made a bee-line, as nearly as practi-

cable, for the tall mountains, the lure of which was loudly calling the adventurers with an earnest and winsome voice. After clambering over the Rockies, this party turned toward Canada, where the trappers, or many of them, had been plying their trade for years. Ere long the expedition crossed the path of Lewis and Clarke among the tributaries of the great Columbia such as Lewis, Clarke, Jefferson, Green, Snake and Yellowstone Rivers.

When they struck the Salmon River, a tributary of the Snake River, Bonneville set up his winter quarters. Here he found the Indians very friendly, willing to exchange comforts and necessary supplies on fair and reasonable terms. The generosity on both sides was said to be remarkable.

The next spring, 1833, Bonneville did some exploring about Salt Lake and in other localities. The party then turned toward California and visited San Francisco Bay. Bonneville was very enthusiastic over San Francisco Bay and prophesied great developments for that region when the people of the United States should join with the Spanish in opening up the country to immigration. Little he then expected the United States to own California within the next twenty years, if ever.

It is said that Bonneville very much desired to return by way of the Willamette Valley, float down the Willamette and turn east up the Columbia River and the Snake River to the winter camp at Salt Lake. He might have taken passage on shipboard if there had been ships to be found. As it was, he started north, overland to Oregon, but his best mountain men could

not find a trail from the Sacramento north, so the expedition turned east for Salt Lake by taking the trail from Green River.

The reader will be surprised that Bonneville's mountain men could not find the pass to the Willamette, as Jedidiah Smith's company, a year or two before, had no serious trouble in finding the pass; and Ewing Young and Hall J. Kelley, the same, or the next year, went from the Sacramento Valley to the Columbia without serious trouble as to the way; and two years later, or in 1835 or 1836, Ewing Young, with a few others, drove a band of horses and cattle of near a thousand head, from Sacramento to the mission on Chemeketa Prairie, now Salem.

After three years of travel in and through the mountains, the Bonneville party arrived in New York, in the summer of 1835.

Of course John Jacob Astor soon got the whole story. He introduced Bonneville to that great writer, Washington Irving. Irving carefully noted the story from Bonneville and by familiarizing himself with the main points, leaving names, dates and particulars out, he mingled truth and romance together in such a manner with the most beautiful language that he fairly captured the whole reading public of the United States to the extent that thousands were so enamored by the story that the word, "Oregon," became the shibboleth of the dissatisfied and restless everywhere. No other writings of the times was read so much as Washington Irving's "Bonneville."

Within the next ten years, every school child in the United States knew something about the great expedition and the country covered by the travelers.

By the time Bonneville's expedition was reported in the newspapers, the first missionaries Jason Lee and his compeers were building in Oregon their habitations for teaching the Indians the better way, and within ten years the wagons were rolling over the plains and through the mountain passes for the Eldorado of their desires. The power of the Hudson's Bay Company was waning as the land seeker's power was enlarging.

CHAPTER XX

WINSHIP'S ATTEMPT AT SETTLEMENT

ABIEL WINSHIP, a fur trader in 1809, concluded to extend his business by entering the Oregon country.

In that year he outfitted Captain Nathan Winship, his relative, with the ship Albatros, and sent him out to the Columbia for the purpose of building a fort or trading post on the Columbia River. This captain's idea was to cultivate the friendship of the Indians and work up a trade with them which would be pleasing to them and lucrative to himself, as the same business had been conducted with the natives about Nootka. It seems that Winship intended to treat the Indians in a manner satisfactory to them. His instructions were for peace. He should use every known precaution to gain and hold the confidence of these ignorant aborigines. He stopped at the Sandwich islands to take on supplies and some livestock with which to start breeding for permanent supply.

His idea was, on arrival at the Columbia, to purchase land from the Indians and start a permanent colony. Winship had no evidence or knowledge as to which claimant, the United States or England would finally establish sovereignty over the country, but he would take his chances. The Albatros entered the Columbia River May, 6, 1810, with goats, swine and also a number of Kanakas (natives of the Sandwich Islands) with whom to start the first settlement in the Oregon country. The Captain sailed up the river about

twenty miles and stopped and unloaded in a beautiful oak grove on the south bank of the lordly Columbia. The June freshet in the river gradually showed signs of spoiling his location. On conversing with the Indians he learned that the river annually inundated his improvement site. Winship immediately began arrangements to move his new made material to higher ground. But before he had his fort completed some friendly Indians came to the Captain and told him that their old enemies, the Chinooks were planning to kill all of his men and capture the fort on the first favorable opportunity. After carefully studying the matter over, Winship concluded to give up the construction of the fort and trade up and down the Columbia until he could get the confidence of the Indians. In time Winship began to discover the better attitude of the Indians which gave him hopes of permanency, but was surprised to see the Tonquin, John Jacob Astor's ship, anchoring inside the bar. Upon discovering Astor's immense equipment and abundant supplies for trade, a million dollar outfit, the captain, thinking he could not compete with a millionaire, like Astor, lost heart and sailed out over the bar never to return to the Columbia. Whether or not Winship lost any money we are not told.

This was absolutely the first attempt at settlement, by an American, in the Oregon country. We will now show the effort of John Jacob Astor to make a settlement in Oregon, which efforts resulted in a terrible fiasco.

CHAPTER XXI

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

WHEN a mere boy, John Jacob Astor came over from London to New York City. He had no capital to work with, so he did odd jobs about town, but finally found employment with a fur trader. John was honest, careful, shrewd and painstaking and soon grew into favor with the management of the concern. His wealth and importance increased daily, until John became one of the substantial capitalists of the growing city.

He learned all to be known in the business of fur-gathering, marketing and shipping. Every business man of any importance in New York and London knew of John Jacob Astor. He became deeply interested, financially, not only in the sales rooms in the city, but in the companies which were gathering furs in the Rocky Mountains.

On becoming acquainted with Gray's exploring expeditions, the discovery of the Columbia River, and later, the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, Astor concluded to branch out and enlarge his business by entering the Columbia, and, if possible, beating the Northwestern Company, of Canada, to the Columbia and thereby prevent the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company from gaining a monopoly in the fur business in the Oregon country.

When this determination of Astor's reached the ears of the public, there were a goodly number of the old employees of the Northwest Company in the city of

New York, nearly all of whom applied to Astor for employment in his new enterprise.

Astor consulted with the wealthy capitalists of the city, all of whom encouraged him, as every proposition, up to this time, that Astor had taken hold of had been a success. Astor called on President Jefferson, who also urged him to make no delay in the matter, as he, Jefferson, was very anxious that American settlements should be started immediately in Oregon. War with England was brewing, and if the United States were to gain a footing there, we must be up and doing in season and out of season, to secure our rights against the English, many of whom believed that Vancouver was really the discoverer of the lordly Columbia. Astor was so encouraged that he enlarged his first ideas and concluded to purchase land from the Indians, start farming on a small scale, and thereby get the credit for opening the first permanent settlement by Americans in the great Northwest.

For years his business place had been cluttered up with junk of one kind or another, this he loaded into the Tonquin. Captain Thorn, provisioned her for a long journey around the horn; filled the hold with tools and equipments for every needful purpose; a few old farming implements; grains and seeds for planting, and started her off for the long journey around the Horn.

When the ship was well on her way in 1810, Astor then listened to the ex-employees of the Canadian Companies, who were on the verge of beggary. Astor had the poor sense, for once, to employ the motly crew, about sixty of them, and equipped them for the

overland journey to locate and select the grounds for operations and to be ready to construct the fort as soon as the ship should arrive with the tools and materials.

The era of exploration was now practically over, and the era of occupation and settlement was just beginning. Since the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest trappers and a third Canadian company, organized by Alexander Mackenzie, were gradually working their way down from Lake Athabasca and the Red River; and the American fur companies in the Rocky Mountains were also pushing toward the west. No sooner had the overland journey of Astor's men gotten under way under the captaincy of Wilson P. Hunt, until the men began to quarrel and complain. The many hardships to be endured on a jaunt of more than three thousand miles made malcontents of nearly the whole force of men. After they had gone past all hopes of any mode of transportation but by the pack horse, it was very trying, especially when the men were not cordial among themselves.

A large proportion of the men fell by the way, and their remains were destroyed by the howling wolves. This overland expedition, or rather the survivors, did not arrive at their destination until the 15th of February, 1812, while the Tonquin arrived on March 24, 1811. The speed expected of the men going over land had been greatly overestimated, and no time had been allowed for delays through sickness and other hindrances, while the ship had made better speed than expected.

The ship had been unloaded, the cargo protected

from the storm, and the ship carpenter had gone to work on the fort, on the present site of Astoria, not waiting for the arrival of the other men.

At that season of the year (March), the bar was extremely rough. The captain was rash in sending four men in one of the boats to sound for the channel. These four men all went down to watery graves. The next morning, against the protests of the mate and the sailors, five men were put in a boat to hunt the channel. These men found the channel, and while piloting the ship, their boat was swamped, and as a result two more went down. Captain Thorn was unfit to handle men. He was proud, haughty, unfeeling and arrogant, not listening to advice or suggestions from any source.

As the ship was of no particular use in building the fort, Captain Thorn concluded to go out and trade with the Indians for furs. He thought of going on to Alaska and meeting the Russians, as Astor had made arrangements to work harmoniously with the Russians, and if necessary to carry supplies to them at odd times. However, on reaching Vancouver Island, he drew into the harbor of Neweetee, very much against the advice of the officers and sailors, as the Indians here had fallen out with the white traders and were considered very treacherous. But the captain had a head of his own, and in this respect, he was not unlike Vancouver, who had preceded him in these waters many years before. On one occasion, when the natives presented furs to the captain, he would not respect their prices, but undertook to hold himself aloof from them. The old chief followed Thorn about the deck, insisting on the exchange for an otter skin. The captain became

impatient, snatched the skin from the chief, caught him by the neck with one hand, and with the other rubbed the skin in the chief's face, then along with the skin, pitched the rascal over the side of the ship. The Indians all retired to counsel, as they were very much offended by the captain's insult.

The next morning the savages returned in great numbers; nearly the whole tribe of fighting men were present. The surface of the water all about the ship was covered with canoes. Each Indian had skins to trade without haggling about price, consequently a very lively trade sprang up. It was soon observed that the Indians were all trading for knives, and the men grew suspicious. When the Indians saw that they were suspected of some kind of treachery, the war-whoop was sounded and the slaughter was begun, which lasted until every white man in sight was dead. The Indians then all repaired to camp. The next morning the whole tribe, with men, women and children, came to loot the ship, which was fairly surrounded with canoes. The decks were covered with hundreds of Indians contending with each other for the coveted prizes, when, without warning of any kind a terrific explosion occurred, destroying nearly all on board and in the canoes about the ship. The craft went down, and the sea rolled in and swallowed everything sinkable. A bare remnant of the tribe was left to tell the tale of disaster.

Four of the crew and Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk, had taken refuge in the cabin and were overlooked by the Indians. These four men, after the Indians had left the ship, swam ashore and were intercepted and

horribly tortured to death by the horrid Indians. Mr. Lewis was mortally wounded, and knowing that he could live but a day or two, made no attempt to leave the ship. He repaired to the powder magazine, and when the hilarity was at its height, touched off the powder.

Now the query arises in the reader's mind, how was the story learned. Well it was like this: The captain had an Indian interpreter, or rather a half-breed. The Indians spared this half-breed, as they looked upon him as an Indian. When the explosion took place, this fellow was thrown into the water unhurt. The only story of any kind that was ever obtainable comes from this interpreter, and since he told different details at different times and to various people, his story is possibly fictitious in some respects. The writer has an opinion of his own, that this lying interpreter, suspecting trouble, remained on shore and got the details from the four men after they had escaped and before being put to death.

Tom McKay, who had figured so largely in the Canadian companies, was one of the men engaged by Astor in New York and was on the Tonquin in the explosion. McKay had left a wife (half caste) and a son in Montreal. This woman afterwards became the wife of Dr. McLoughlin.

In the meantime, the land expedition had arrived, and also the Beaver, another ship sent out by Astor's partners, the Pacific Fur Company. Saving the loss of the Tonquin and men, the year had been a very successful one, when only business matters were taken into consideration. Several posts had been established,

and everything pointed to another more successful year. But a cloud was seen on the political sky. The British Northwest Company sent the Isaac Todd around the Horn with orders to capture and destroy the fort, Astoria. J. G. McTavish of the Northwest Company was sent overland from Canada with several men to take charge of the property of the fort and stores.

McTavish arrived with his men before the British man-of-war crossed the bar. McTavish had neither war supplies nor provisions, but Duncan McDougal was in charge in the absence of Mr. Hunt and was well supplied. Now McDougal was a subject of Great Britain, though he had put his money into the company with Mr. Astor. But not waiting for the ship with letters of authority, he willingly turned the fort and equipment over to McTavish at one-third the actual value of the stock of furs, equipment and provisions on hand.

Hunt soon returned from the Sandwich Islands, and on April 3rd, left Astoria by sea. Upon Hunt's leaving, the eighty Americans left also, many going overland to the United States, others taking employment with McLoughlin.

As soon as the British warship, the Raccoon, arrived, the American name, Astoria, was hauled down, the fort was christened, "Fort George," and the English colors hoisted to the mast.

The men of Hunt's company, not Americans, were assigned to duty under McTavish, and the name of Astor died, to be resurrected, in name only, ten years later.

It has often been said that the first white woman to appear in Oregon came in with the missionaries. That appears to be a mistake if we are to believe the following story. When the Northwest Company sent the British ship, Hornet, around the Horn, to capture the fort at Astoria, April 17, 1814, and deliver it to the Northwest Company, the captain, Isaac Todd from Portsmouth, England, and one of the men of the reenforcement, brought his barmaid, whom he had picked up in Portsmouth, with him. And for awhile Jane Barnes was a feature at Astoria or rather Fort George. She was so attractive that Concomly's son tried to capture her heart and person, although he had four wives. He offered one hundred sea-otter skins, and further, that all the other wives should be her servants, but still she refused. On the way back, at Canton, Jane Barnes married a rich Britisher. If the story be true, Jane Barnes was undoubtedly the first white woman to be seen on the Columbia.

It is fully believed that Duncan McDougal was bribed by accepting stock in the Northwest Company, to turn over the Astoria fort and valuables to McTavish at a valuation of one-third their actual value. Years after, the matter was brought up between England and the United States and adjusted in a way not altogether satisfactory to the Astor Company.

The war, all will remember, was of short duration, and when peace with England was ratified, Mr. Astor was anxious that his right be guarded or restored, that he might return to Astoria and resume trapping operations on the Pacific. Mr. Astor applied to our government for the restitution the treaty demanded.

In the fall of 1817, the sloop-of-war, Ontario, was sent for the purpose, and to assert the claims of the United States to the country adjacent to the Columbia. This demand led to the right of sovereignty, and as a temporary expedient, the treaty of joint occupancy was continued, to last for ten years, to 1828. Astoria was restored to Mr. Astor. The name "Fort George" was dropped, and Astoria re-established. The English flag came down, and the stars and stripes took its place on October 20, 1818.

After Mackenzie made his exploration to the Pacific, or about that time, he amalgamated his new company with the Northwest Company, leaving the Hudson's Bay Company and Northwest Company as rivals and antagonists, sore and bitter.

Let us quote a few sentences from Vol. 1, Clark's "Pioneer Days of Oregon," which is a true story.

"The rivalry existing for many years between the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company for the trade in furs had been implacable, resulting in actual war. When their expeditions met, they fought, and the most powerful robbed when they did not slay their rivals, or did both. This began in 1806. (That is, actual war began in 1806). The Northwest Company had two thousand men, and through this source of power, invaded the territory that the crown had conferred on the great rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, which never went beyond its own limits and had never been able to explore that much. As the Northwesters gained wealth and numbers, they became aggressive. It was the law of the wilderness where might was right. There was no other law, no other prin-

ciple to go by, and no government near enough to enforce law if it existed. The aggressive conduct of the Northwest Company roused the Hudson's Bay Company to assert itself; there was absolute and unholy war between them as between hostile Indian tribes. It was a war of extermination, to destroy the Hudson's Bay Company and make it abandon the field, or else sell out at a low price. Without legal right or royal charter right, the Northwest Company, having no grant of territory, had become great and powerful because of its success in trade, therefore its managers determined to claim the entire northern wilderness from ocean to ocean, as their's by force of arms. This fearful strife continued from 1806 to 1821, when Parliament consolidated the two as the Hudson's Bay Company. The vast domain of North America passed under the control of the consolidated fur company.

"The fierceness of the war may be understood when we know that the Northwest people destroyed settlements made, and killed Robert Sample, Governor of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and twenty or thirty men with him. At this time, the Hudson's Bay Company had no ventures west of the Rocky Mountains in Oregon, so the war existed in the east, and I refer to it, showing the character of the times. From January, 1814 to 1821, the Northwest Company had possession on the Columbia and experienced a great variety of adventures in intercourse with different tribes who occupied the many regions on the coast and in the interior."

During this time from 1818, when the treaty of joint occupancy was signed between England and the

United States, the American fur hunters felt that they had as legal rights to operate here as anyone from England or Canada, so they did. But they did not have the power to enforce their rights. Had all the Americans combined as the others had consolidated, they might have stood a better show for success. As it was, some sixteen or more American concerns were driven out by the most merciless monopoly and boycott ever exercised by one against another, and were driven into bankruptcy.

Dr. John McLoughlin, of the Northwest Company, was placed at the head of the consolidated company, and as Astor concluded to withdraw, as did about all the others, Dr. McLoughlin took charge of Astoria and moved in 1825, all effects up to Vancouver on the Columbia, at what is now Vancouver, Washington.

Dr. McLoughlin reigned supreme for twenty years with plenary power over the country from California in the south to Alaska on the north. This was the condition after the era of exploration to the beginning of real occupancy and development. It was not the wish of the great company that American settlers should occupy the country for home-building, as such settlement would destroy the business of the company, in, that population by home-builders and farm developers would drive away the game of the jungles and ultimately destroy the game preserve then enjoyed by the trappers and traders.

CHAPTER XXII

JEDEDIAH SMITH

JEDIDIAH SMITH came to Oregon through California in 1828. He was one of the first white men who came to Oregon independently of the fur companies. A party of eighteen men conducted by Smith started from San Francisco in 1828. The party had left San Francisco bound for their rendezvous at Salt Lake. These men came up the Sacramento Valley, but finding no opening through the mountains, turned toward the coast. They followed the sea to the north of the Rogue River, then continued to follow the beach to the mouth of the Umpqua River.

Here their trouble began by the Indians stealing the only axe they had. This implement was their only hope in making rafts on which to carry their equipment across unfordable streams. Smith, with one man, engaged an Indian with his canoe for a cruise. In Smith's absence, a number of Indians fell upon the camp and slew, as they thought, all the men of the camp. One man, Mr. Black, as learned later, was out of the crowd and was not slain. Black disappeared as fast as his legs could carry him toward the Columbia as he knew of the Hudson's Bay Company fort on the Columbia. Black, having nothing but roots and berries to eat, decided to give himself up to the big chief of the coast Indians whom he met in a friendly way.

Black, with an Indian guide, crossed the Umpqua and finally made his way to the fort on the Columbia. In the goodness of his heart, Dr. McLoughlin rewarded

the Indian who had brought Black safely to the fort. The doctor equipped a large party to go out and severely punish these Indians for their murderous attack on the Smith camp, but just as the party was to start, Smith, with two men, came in and told the story also to Dr. McLoughlin.

The good doctor, knowing if these Indians escaped punishment for these murders and robbery, his own men would not be safe in that quarter, organized a strong party and set out and found the furs being offered for sale with Smith's mark on each piece of stolen fur. But as these Indians claimed they had purchased the marked furs, they must look to the ones from whom they had obtained them, for remuneration. The thievish, murderous robbers would not pay back the price of the furs, so a war was kindled, and the murderers were well nigh exterminated by the neighboring tribe.

The furs recovered were worth, in the market, $3,200.

This chastisement had a very salutary effect on the southern Oregon Indians for more than twenty years thereafter.

The Smith party went east of the Cascade Mountains to Salt Lake. Jedediah Smith was a very religious man and exceedingly devotional.

The Indians east of the mountains noted this element in Smith's character and learning, that he got his examples from a book which they called the "Book of Heaven," and being desirous of obtaining the book, organized a party of four or five Indians, who undertook to make the trip to St. Louis to obtain the same in 1832 or 1833.

This may or may not be the true version of the origin of the impulse that sent the delegation to St. Louis in 1832.

Here we see the difference between history and romance. History can generally, but not always, be verified, but romance is subject to doubt. Some might say that romance is history on wings. This may be true, but wings sometimes lose their motion, then the nakedness of the structure is exposed.

CHAPTER XXIII

HALL J. KELLEY

HALL JACKSON KELLEY came to Oregon in 1834, the same year that Jason Lee came, but not on the same route. Kelley came via California. Just how Kelley got his first knowledge of and later, his enthusiam for Oregon, is not known. He might have read the book put out by Ledyard or Carver, or Bryant's "Thanatopsis," or the Lewis and Clarke report to President Jefferson, or some one or more of other works. Of course, when we know only the result, we always are interested to learn the cause. We know that Kelley was a school teacher in Boston and was all on fire about Oregon. He wrote newspaper articles about Oregon. He advised people to go to Oregon.

In 1817, he wrote his first pamphlet about Oregon. He tried to enthuse everyone who would listen to him, on his favorite subject—Oregon.

It was Kelley who inspired Nathaniel J. Wyeth to go to Oregon, ~~and~~ in 1832, Harvey Scott's history says Jason Lee acknowledged that his first information about Oregon was obtained from Kelley's writings.

It was Kelley who inspired Nathaniel J. Wyeth to go to Oregon, ~~and~~ in 1832, Harvey Scott's history also says that Hal J. Kelley's advertising of the Oregon country has never been fully appreciated by Oregonians.

Kelley got up a scheme and plan for starting a settlement on the Willamette below the now city of Portland, but could not interest enough people to put the

proposition over. Kelley visited Congress and tried to get the government interested in colonizing Oregon. His great efforts were premature, as Congress could do nothing in that line until the matter of sovereignty was settled between England and the United States.

Although Kelley failed, as did Ledyard, yet probably he did more than any other single-handed person to induce emigration to Oregon. Many with whom Kelley conversed, or who read his writings, did come to Oregon. His favorite word in describing Oregon was "Paradise."

It is said that the narrative of Lewis and Clarke did not reach many readers until Kelley brought it to notice through his writings. The same might be said of Bryant's "Thanatopsis." Kelley was nearly crazy over Oregon. It was also Kelley who first enthused thousands of persons into leaving comfortable homes and crossing the plains and mountains for the west.

But such enthusiasts as Kelley were generally unsuccessful when they came to put their plans into effect. We often see such men in all civilized countries. They can plan, but cannot execute. They cannot wait for developments. After all it takes the patient plodder, the faithful worker, to succeed in development schemes.

Again, Harvey Scott said: "This strange, eccentric man might almost be called the prophet of Oregon, the father of migration to Oregon, the man who hastened the fulfillment of our destiny."

Kelley came to Oregon in 1834, and left in 1835, his departure as unannounced as his coming. However,

he never ceased to sing the praises of this "Paradise in the wilderness."

In later years, he lived alone at Three Rivers, Massachusetts. In 1874, Kelley died at the age of 84.

CHAPTER XXIV

FIRST TEACHERS IN OREGON COUNTRY

THE first attempts in the Oregon country to instruct children in the English language were made by John Ball and Soloman Howard Smith. Smith was employed by Dr. McLoughlin to teach the children about Fort Vancouver in 1832, a few weeks after John Ball had quit teaching there. Smith finally settled near the Chehalem River in the Willamette Valley and afterwards at Clatsop Plains.

Ball was an American who had come to the Oregon country with Nathaniel Wyeth in 1832, on Wyeth's first exploring trip, more to find a place for establishing a trading post for purchasing furs from the Indians than making exploring discoveries. Wyeth, very soon, returned to the east but Ball remained another year and raised a crop of wheat near Champoeg. This was the first cereal crop raised in Oregon by an American. Ball, it appears, taught the children at the fort but a very short time when superseded by Smith. The history of Ball's movements in the Oregon country is very meager. Smith remained here permanently and became one of the important settlers and was one of the Americans who took a prominent part in the meeting at Champoeg, May 2nd, 1843, which was held to form a Provisional Government.

Solomon Howard Smith was a faithful citizen and a real adjunct to the rising community. He lived to a good old age and died on a beautiful June morning in 1891. He carried the reputation of planting the seeds

of education, not only at Vancouver, but later, on at French Prairie for the halfbreed children of that farming community. Also Rev. Harvey Clark taught school a short time in the Tualatin Valley

THE INDUSTRIAL TRAINING SCHOOL

THE Reverend Jason Lee, the first missionary to the Oregon country established, in 1834, the Industrial Training School for Indian children. The money for this school was appropriated from the mission monies put in the hands of Jason Lee for that purpose, by the Missionary Society of the Methodist church for foreign missions. While the first log building, for the school, was under construction, in the fall and winter of 1834, Cyrus Shepard, one of the missionary company of Jason Lee, remained at the fort of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver, and taught the children of the employees of the company together with a few fullblood Indian children, during the winter of 1834-35.

When the mission school building at Chemawa was ready for occupancy, Cyrus Shepard gathered in a goodly number of half blood and full blood Indian children and taught them as best he could in the use of the English language and knowledge of the rudiments of divine responsibility.

Mr. Shepherd continued the carrying on of this mission school until the time of his death, which occured in 1842.

This school was the first real organized effort to establish a permanent school in the Oregon country, and this effort was eminently and succesfully carried on

with but one short intermission until it became the Willamette University of today.

In 1836, Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding set up schools for Indian children and continued them on to 1847, when the Mission was destroyed.

The schools taught by Solomon Smith, John Ball and Cyrus Shepard the winter of 1834-35, were only expediencies while waiting for settlement and permament organization for law, order and statecraft.

The school taught in the Nehalem Valley by Rev. Harvey Clark was also temporary to fill an urgent need while the crude efforts of the settlers were crystalizing into form for permanent civilization and development, which was to rapidly follow the crude beginnings of an ambitious and enterprising people.

CHAPTER XXV

WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY

THE Centennial of Methodistism was celebrated by the passengers, in 1839, on the voyage on the Lausanne just before reaching Cape Horn. At this celebration, the question of a school, supposedly, for white children, was discussed and all feeling that white children would soon create the necessity for a school for them independent of the mission school, resolved to start a fund for such a purpose to be located somewhere in Oregon. Sixteen white children were in the company and a few more were already in Oregon, aside from several in the mission. After a general discussion of the question under consideration, a contribution was taken as a starter for the establishing of such a school as contemplated. The hope was expressed that this school would grow into a large institution. The contributions amounted to $650. About 1842, the mission was moved to Chemeketa Prairie and the construction of an Industrial Indian Training School for Indian children was built by the mission under the direction of the superintendent, Rev. Jason Lee. By the time the industrial school for the Indian children got into operation, the subscribers of the fund for the secular school had purchased a site a short distance north of Chemeketa and were building the school for white children. Before this building was far along in construction, the superintendent of the Indian Training School was instructed by the Mission Board to sell all of the mission property

and close the Indian school. The offer was made to the public, to sell the school property for $4,000, a property which had cost the mission $10,000.

The settlers, mostly ex-members of the Mission accepted this generous offer, and sold the secular unfinished school and the site for $3,000, and applied the proceeds on payment for the mission school property. This was a big undertaking at that time, but success crowned their efforts and in 1844, the school was opened under the name "Oregon Institute." This was just one year after the organization of the Provisional Government. When the territory was organized the first legislature incorporated the school under the name "Walamet University."

Names of those who subscribed the $4,000 for payment of the training school were as follows:

L. H. Judson
Joseph Gale
Jason Lee
Gustavus Hines
Hamilton Campbell
Elmira Philips
James Olley
Joseph Holman
David Leslie
J. L. Parrish
W. W. Raymond
Joseph L. Whitcomb
J. L. Babcock
Alanson Beers
Daniel Lee
H. B. Brewer
Robert Shortess
James Bates
James S. O'Neal
Orpha Carter
W. H. Gody
A. F. Waller

In order to show who in that early day, were the responsible backers of the school we append the names of those who paid for scholarships:

Francis Fletcher	$500	Rev. Wm. Roberts	$500
Rev. R. C. Kinney	500	J. H. Welber	500
Hon. Launsdale	500	Fletcher Crabtree	500
Hon. J. S. Smith	500	W. W. McKinney	500
Rev. J. L. Parrish	500	Wm. Odell	500
Rev. David Leslie	500	Martin Vaughn	500
Mrs. Chloe Willson	1000	W. O. Gibson	500
Rev. Jason Lee	600	George Belknap	500
Hon. L. F. Grover	500	Orrin Belknap	500
E. Strong	500	M. Swank	500
Rev. A. F. Waller	500	Hon. Jos. Lampson	500
M. Swogle	500	Elias Buell	500
Jno. N. Gilbert	500	James McKain	500
Joseph Waldo	500	Mrs. Jane Armstrong	500
Joseph Holman	500	Hon. J. H. Moores	500
Rev. J. D. Boon	500	Abijah Cary	500
Thos. Cross	500	Jos. Lane	500
Rev. Gustavus Hines	500	Hon. S. Stout	500
Weberly Hauxhurst	500	Hon. Ed. Baker	500
J. M. Harrison	500	Rev. T. H. Judson	500
W. S. Ladd	500		

ST. JOSEPHS SCHOOL FOR BOYS—SECOND PERMANENT SCHOOL

FATHERS Blanchet and Demers established a school for boys at St. Paul, in Marion County, in the year 1839. This was the first Catholic school started in Oregon and the second permanent school either secular or denominational. These Fathers who started this school were the first Catholic missionaries to arrive in Oregon. They came in 1838 Their starting this school so soon after arrival shows that

they, as well as protestants, deemed that the education of the young generation was one of the first steps to be taken in the matter of civilizing the aborigines.

This school has been in continuous operation, without interruption, unto this day—1929—and has made a very marked impression on the characters of the inhabitants of the northern part of Marion County.

Through this school for boys only, St. Paul has long been a prominent Catholic resort in Marion County.

TUALATIN ACADEMY—PACIFIC UNIVERSITY

THE third effort to start a permanent school for the education of the on-coming generations, in Oregon, was started in the Tualatin Valley.

The effort to start this school came about as follows: With the immigration of 1843, the first to bring their wagons over the mountains, came one Mrs. Tabitha Moffat Brown, a widow. Mrs. Brown was a woman of great resources of mind. She arrived at Chemeketa (now Salem) in a destitute condition, after enduring hardships that would have destroyed an ordinary woman. But Tabitha Brown was of a hardy stock, well inured to the rough ways of pioneer life. She met the Methodist missionaries here at Chemeketa, who assisted her very kindly to acquire living conditions.

Mrs. Brown was a woman of medium stature. It is said that when she reached friends in Oregon her weight was reduced to 108 pounds, but she "was a bundle of energy, ambition, and intelligence, extremely passionate for good."

Mrs. Brown was entirely without money as she

supposed, but one day putting her hand in an old buckskin glove she found a picayune—worth less than one cent in exchange—but worth a good fortune to her at the time. She looked at the picayune, she looked at the glove, she caught an inspiration and mused: "There is money in gloves, the workers must have gloves; I'll purchase a needle with the picayune, trade an extra dress for a buckskin, borrow a spool of thread, and with my rusty old shears and my own enlarged hand for a pattern, I'll make a start in business." and so she did. As soon as her product was known abroad from the mission Mrs. Brown had ready custom ers for her product. This woman was soon known at a distance from home as a provident, old lady and a splendid glove manufacturer.

Having been a school teacher in her younger days she now began to think of a more suitable vocation than glove making. Mrs. Brown's son Orris, also came to Oregon in the same year (1843) and took a claim in the Tualatin Valley, raised a crop of wheat, which he sold, then returned to his former home.

When Mrs. Brown was seventy-one years of age she visited the family of Rev. Harvey Clark, who lived in Tualatin Valley. While riding along the road, one day, with the Clarks, she noticed that beautiful eminence where now stands Pacific University in Forest Grove. She pointed to the beautiful spot and remarked, "there is a fine place for a school." Rev. Clark agreed but said the settlers lived so far apart it would have to be a boarding school, and where would we find a suitable person to conduct such a school.

Mr. Clark had conducted a primitive school in that

neighborhood for a short time some years before and, therefore, had misgivings about the success of such an enterprise. There was a log house on the nearby claim of Rev. Clark, which could be utilized for a school house. Mrs. Brown declared that she could go into that house and could conduct both the boarding and the school and that she would take all the responsibility of its success on herself. Rev. Clark gave her all the assistance he could and enlisted others in the project.

Grandma Brown, as she was now called, went to work immediately. It was not long until the Congregational Church took the matter in hand and Tualatin Academy was established—ere long Pacific University and Tualatin Academy were twin blessings to the young and growing community, and like Willamette University and Kimball College are sending educated men and women as teachers and preachers to every part of the Northwest. With a proper endowment these schools will grow and prosper indefinitely. A great result from a small beginning.

The honor of the inception of the school belongs to Grandma Tabitha Brown.

The honor of founding the school into an academy belongs principally to Rev. Harvey Clark and Dr. G. H. Atkinson. But Dr. S. H. Marsh carries the principal honor of developing Tualatin Academy into a college, then into Pacific University.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE MISSIONARIES

WHILE there had been quite a little farming done in the Willamette Valley in 1832, by retired employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, still no real attempt to settle the country was successfully made until the advent of the missionaries in 1834. Jason Lee was the forerunner in the missionary field, with the dual purpose of converting the Indians to the doctrine of christianity and the peopling of the country with Americans by inducing immigration from the United States.

Lee's story will be told in another chapter. Jason Lee, with four helpers came overland in 1834, in advance of any other person for any purpose save trade and exploration. Lee's effort was based on philanthropy, purely from religious impulse. He was not in any sense looking to the accumulation of wealth. His whole thought was for ameliorating the condition of the poor, abused Indian and the opening up of the country for this and future generations.

The next year, 1835, Rev. Samuel Parker came overland for the same purpose as Jason Lee. Mr. Parker was the forerunner of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a combination of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Dutch Reformed Churches.

Mr. Parker looked the country over and located sites for three missions for Whitman, Spaulding and Eell's and then took a ship passage home, after visiting Jason Lee at Chemawa.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS

IT WILL be remembered that Jason Lee and his helpers began their efforts to settle and Christianize the Indians in 1834, and that the American Board of Commissioners began their efforts in the same line in 1836

Lee's missions were located at Chemawa, ten miles below the present Salem; at Astoria; at Nootka on the Puget Sound; and at The Dalles; Whitman's at Lapwaii in the Walla Walla country, and Spaulding's located 120 miles northeast of Whitman's. These missions, Spaulding and Whitman, were sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

All of these missions were doing a good work among the natives, were getting along harmoniously with the Indians and all were assisting each other in creating and holding the attention of the Indians. Farming and stock-raising were in progress and a prosperous future was in the offing. There was no rivalry, no jealousy between the different denominations until in 1838, Fathers Blanchet and Modeste Demers came overland from Canada, apparently, to help in the matter of benefiting the Indian race. There was plenty of room for that sect. The country was large, and there were thousands of Indians whom the missionaries had not yet influenced. But soon it was observed that, these fathers, Blanchet and Demers, were here, not so much to establish missions as to hinder and destroy the Protestant missions. Their

actions soon disclosed their purpose and intentions, which were to utterly destroy all the teaching, so far imparted to these ignorant Indians.

Their first effort was to tear down the work already done, and denounce the Protestants as "hypocrites, imposters and vile deceivers."

On October 14, 1838, mass was said for the first time in Oregon, at the big bend in the Columbia. A few days later, in attempting to pass through the Little Dalles of the Columbia, the party with whom Fathers Blanchet and Demers were traveling met with a fearful accident and twelve of the company were lost in the rapids. The mission party went on down the river, officiating regularly. "At Walla Walla, many of Whitman's Indians attended the service at mass. The Indians were awe stricken by the ceremonies which they could not understand."

In comparing these services with Whitman's plain, undecorated and sensible ceremonies with no attempt at the mysterious, no swinging of the censors, no aromatic fumes, no unnecessary genuflections, no kissing of the cross, no pictures, no images, "no nothing," as the Indians thought.

As a natural consequence they were told that the teachings of Lee and Whitman were false and that all their work was pure sham and must be done over or they all would "go to hell." Can you wonder that the "black robes" and mysterious ceremonies caught the Indian's attention, if not his heart?

From this time on, the work of the Protestant missions was on the defensive. Lee went east for recruits and returned in the spring of 1840, with fifty recruits,

on the Lausanne. Whitman, also, later went east and returned overland with the first large acquisition to his missions.

The Catholics made no attempt to bring in immigrants, but the Protestants and those of no particular religious membership were active in persuading good people from abroad to come and inhabit Oregon before the question of sovereignty should be settled, that the United States might prevail.

In 1840, Father DeSmit came to add his might to that of the fathers already here. This reinforcement to the Jesuits was still further attractive to the Indians, who were won through the eye, as the fathers pictured with attractive colors the road to heaven. From the altars, ornaments and vestments, as a foundation, the Apostolic ladder reaching to Heaven was pictured, showing where the saints in glory were revelling in pleasure and happiness about the Great Spirit. This was the crowning scene that captivated the Indian and set his heart against the "vile imposters who had not so much as shadow to prove their words."

All this time the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were divided politically. Archbishop Blanchet had succeeded in making Catholics of Dr. McLoughlin and Peter Burnett, adding them to those professing the Catholic faith. With Dr. McLoughlin, this was as might have been expected. He was born of Catholic parents and had, when eight days old, been christened in the church, but his Catholicism had not been confirmed when he arrived at the age of accountability. But with Mr. Burnett it was different. Soon after the Catholicism of Mr. Burnett had become well

known, he emigrated to California, where the Catholics were very greatly in the majority, and at the organization of the state, Mr. Burnett, being a Catholic, was easily elected as California's first governor. A fine political coup.

To the credit of Dr. McLoughlin it may be said that he never showed his hand at proseliting, but was ever a faithful Catholic down to his dying day. In granting favors many times, he showed that he had a heart for humanity, irrespective of creed. Yet his favors in many instances were not appreciated by those who professed the faith of the protestant religion.

In a later chapter Dr. McLoughlin and Jason Lee will be compared.

Had Blanchet, Demers and De Smit possessed the kindly and tolerant spirit of Dr. McLoughlin and pursued the course of teaching their doctrine without trying to destroy the teaching of Lee and other Protestant missionaries and teachers, life would have been more pleasant in those formative days, and the results of all labors would have been more prolific of good.

I wish to give the Catholic version of the advent of that sect into the Oregon country. From a letter of October 20, 1839, written by Joseph, Bishop of St. Louis, to the Father-general of the Society of Jesus at Rome, the following is quoted:

"Twenty-five years ago (1816) two Indians of the Iriquois Mission left their native country, Canada, with twenty-two other warriors and went to settle in a country situated between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Sea. That country is inhabited by infidel nations, and especially, by those the French called

Getes Plat. They married there and incorporated with the Indian Nation. As they were well instructed in the Catholic religion, professed by the Iriquois—converted by the ancient fathers of your society—they have continued to practice it as much as was in their power, and have taught it to their wives and children. Their zeal even went further, becoming apostles. They have sown the first seeds of Catholicity in the midst of the infidel nations, among whom they dwell. These precious gems begin already to bring forth fruit, for they have caused to spring in the hearts of the Indians the desire of having missionaries who would teach them the Divine law. Eight or nine years ago (about 1830) some of the Flathead Nation came to St. Louis. The object of the journey was to ascertain if the religion spoken of with so much praise by the Iriquois warriors was in reality such as represented, and above all, if the nations that have white skins (the name given to Europeans) had adopted and practised it. Soon after their arrival at St. Louis they fell sick and earnestly asked, by signs, to be baptized. Their requests were granted and they received the holy baptism with great devotion; then holding the crucifix they covered it with kisses and expired. Some years after—about 1832—the Flathead Nation sent again one of the Iriquois to St. Louis. There he came with his two grandchildren who were instructed and baptized by the fathers of the college. He asked missionaries for his countrymen, and started home with the hope that one day the desire of his nation would be granted; but on his journey he was killed by the infidel Indians of the Sioux Nation. At last a third deputation of

Indians arrived in St. Louis (1839) after a long voyage of three months.

"It is composed of two Christian Iriquois. These Indians who talk French have edified us by their exemplary conduct; and interested us by their discourse. The fathers of the college have heard their confessions. And today, they have approached the holy table at my mass in the cathedral church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of confirmation. And in an allocution administered after the ceremony, I rejoiced with them at their happiness and gave them the hope to have soon a priest. They will leave for their home tomorrow; a priest will follow them next spring. Of the twenty-four Iriquois who formerly immigrated from Canada, four only are still living. Not content with planting the faith in these savage countries, they also have defended it against the prejudices of the Protestant ministers. When these pretended missionaries presented themselves, our good Catholics refused to receive them. 'These are not the priests we have spoken of to you,' they said to the Flatheads. 'They are not the priests with long black gowns, who have no wives, who say mass and carry a crucifix with them.' For God's sake, my Rt. Rev. Father, forsake not their souls! Accept, etc. Joseph, Bishop of St. Louis."

Mr. S. A. Clark, author of "Pioneer Days in Oregon," was not a churchman. I knew Mr. Clark as editor of the Oregon Statesman and as a fruit grower in Salem, Oregon, and later, when he was writing much of his two-volume "Pioneer Days," he lived but a few blocks from my residence.

Mr. Clark was a truthful man at heart and a pioneer in Oregon, so I feel safe in quoting him again in reference to this letter above quoted. (Clark's Pioneer Days, Vol. 2, page 386).

"This very interesting letter written at a very early date, being the official communication from the Bishop of St. Louis to the head of his order in Rome, may be received as truth, as he believed it. And it explains why the Flatheads did not receive the Protestant missionaries when they arrived. It shows also what importance they attributed to the wearing of gowns, the mystic service of mass and the presence and uplifting of the cross. All through this work there is a bitter prejudice expressed against the missionaries with no recognition that they had the same end in view or that they worshipped the same God and Saviour. The Protestant contemporaries were not so illiberal, but in the history of all missions among Indians there was an unfortunate attempt to belittle rival efforts; cheap picturings were used to prejudice the Indians and decry and disparage the rivals; there was no recognition that they served the same Master, preached the same Saviour and taught the same God. If possible, the Jesuit was the most bitter and intolerant and had the least of the Christian charity that should have appreciated that such wrangling could but injure the cause of religion."

"If the Catholic priest had come early into the field and had the sole privilege to occupy it with missions, there is reason to believe that they could have accomplished all the good that was possible, by teaching the Indians as much progress as they could understand

and were able to make use of; by persuading them to be less savage, forego wars among themselves, and encouraging them to learn something of agriculture. The field was broad enough for the Jesuit to choose stations that would not interfere with Protestant missions that came first; but Catholic missions were as aggressive to destroy Protestantism as to Christianize savages.

"The Protestants might bitterly oppose the Catholic dogma and assertion, but did not deny that salvation could be attained through teaching and belief of the Catholic Church, so were not as illiberal as were the Catholics. The writer of this has no sectarian prejudice to satisfy, no narrow creed to fortify, only looks on while creeds are warring and human passions rage in history under religious zeal, to wonder where authority can be found for such strife in the words of Him who never spake as man spake, whose doctrine was love, whose life was meek and lowly, to wonder where His pretended followers find room for such divergence and can excuse so much deadly hate."

To the honor and judgment of Dr. McLoughlin, it is said that when he wrote for missionaries, he explained to the Bishop that the priest should locate north of the Columbia as he could easily divine that friction would result should missions be established on the south of the Columbia, where the Protestants were doing the same kind of work. We know not the instruction given to Fathers Blanchet and Demers by the Bishop when they came in 1838, and went to work immediately to prejudice the Indian converts against their teachers by decrying all the work done by Lee

and his assistants, even re-baptizing the converts and re-marrying the Canadians to their Indian wives. Had Dr. McLoughlin's advice been heeded and the Catholic missions been established only north of the Columbia, it is most likely that Lee, in 1840, would not have gone to Nisqually and built a mission for Dr. Richmond. And it is fair to presume that the first settlement in the Sound country would have been non-American, and today English authorities would prevail there. As it was, an ugly strife was engendered which resulted in destroying the Indian's faith in the white man's religion, and politically, giving the United States possession of the Sound country.

The same actions, with more direful results, obtained in the Walla Walla country. This cross-firing, this strife engendered, caused the destruction of the Whitmans and the valuable mission property. The details of this horrible affair are so revolting that I decline to give them here, and will refer the reader to current history to be found in any good library. We have given the question much space to show the reader what this country went through while being settled, and before law and order had become the balance wheel of passion. The Protestants, being first here, hoped to make Oregon Protestant as far as possible, as the priests, coming two years later, no doubt wished to proselyte the country to their own religion.

The craze to send missionaries to the Oregon Indians was the result of the high-wrought reports printed in the Christian Advocate and the Christian Herald. These reports seemed to intensify the spirit of the people who were inclined to sympathize with the

"poor Indian." The Churches were the first to act, and as we have shown, did act and were the first to initiate settlements in Oregon. And as long as the missions endured (about ten years) they were the magnet that kept this gem of the world shining like a beacon star. They, while not always harmonious, drew the attention of the United States to Oregon and induced enough people to immigrate here to make settlement sufficient to secure an American state.

There were other missionaries of whom we have not spoken, but as their enterprises were short lived or soon abandoned we have not depicted their troubles and final abandonment of their missionary enterprises.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN

MARCUS WHITMAN was a native of Rushville, Ontario County, New York, born September 4, 1802. He was educated for a physician.

He was engaged as missionary physician by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and started west in 1834, to travel in the Wyeth party in company with Jason Lee, but did not reach the rendezvous until the company had gone too far to be overtaken before reaching the mountains. So he repaired to his home to wait for another year.

In 1835, Whitman joined the regular caravan of the Rocky Mountain traders. Upon reaching the mountains, Whitman learned that Lee had changed his mind as to location, and instead of settling with the Flatheads, he had located in the Willamette Valley.

Now Whitman felt that the Indians of the Flathead country were too numerous for a single mission, so he turned back a second time, this time for helpers. He was fortunate in finding one, Rev. H. H. Spaulding who was just starting to a less important mission. By much persuasion, Whitman induced Spaulding and his young wife to turn their attention to Oregon. Whitman married Narcissa Prentice. W. H. Gray, a carpenter, was also induced to go as a secular worker. These were all New Yorkers.

In the spring of 1836, two years after Jason Lee had located, these five people traveled to the mountains with the trader's caravan. Then, with Indian guides,

they pushed on with Rev. Samuel Parker, who was also with them, to look up localities suitable for establishing missions. Parker, after looking over the situation, went on to the Willamette and made a call on Jason Lee. He seemed to be reticent as to his plans, went to Astoria, and took a ship for home and never returned.

Whitman and Spaulding satisfied themselves that the Eastern Oregon Indians should have their best services. Whitman located near Walla Walla, and Spaulding went to the Nez Perces in the interior, some 120 miles from Whitman.

These two missionaries took their wives down to Vancouver fort and left them in the care of Dr. McLoughlin until Gray, with their assistance, could get the fort built for their home.

Both these men soon became very friendly and cordial with the Indians, who gladly welcomed them to their country. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding opened schools, and for a time, the children were quite studious. Reinforcements were sent out from year to year.

In 1838, Walker and Eells came to join Whitman and Spaulding. Another mission was established, and Walker and Eells went with zeal and spirit into the civilizing of the Indians. They established another mission in the Spokane country. These posts were operated with the full design of making good citizens and faithful Christians of the Indians.

Spaulding's mission lasted for a time after Whitman's failure. The Nez Perce and Flathead countries were pretty well covered by the missionaries, and

most of the Indians were quite well pleased with the missionaries. But as the time went on, the Indians tired of work which the missions insisted upon. Work was considered by the missions as the chief element in the effort of civilization. But "industry" was a word not in the Indian's vocabulary. It was neither glorification or bravery.

As a natural consequence, the Indians began to haggle with Whitman, who saw he had not helpers enough about his mission. Conflicting stories about Whitman's management began to reach headquarters in New York, which information reached Whitman, and he resolved to return to New York.

So in the winter of 1842, he went over the mountains to civilization. Much has been written about the motive for this trip. Whitman, always after, during his short life declared he went east on Mission business, but his ardent admirers would have it that Whitman went in the interest of "saving Oregon to the United States." However this may be, Whitman returned with the largest acquisition of settlers that had so far entered the country and the second that crossed the mountains since the missions were established. This new acquisition did not seem to quiet matters or help to advance the interest of the Mission. The American Commissioners at New York declared that the missions should be self-supporting. Therefore, they declined to give the further assistance needed. The discontent of the lazy Indians was very much aggravated when given to understand that they must work in the fields like white men, and not longer obtain help from the missions except as wages for services rendered.

Matters grew worse until 1847, when the whole scheme failed by the Indians massacring most of the men and some of the women, burning the mills and other buildings.

Dr. and Mrs. Whitman both perished. The matter brought on a terrible war which resulted in the silencing of the Indians and the execution of the principal leaders of the massacre.

Spaulding succeeded in keeping his Indians out of the conspiracy and conducted his mission for some years thereafter.

We will give a quotation from Clark's "Pioneer Days:"

"The Presbyterians really made progress and became a large establishment conducted solely for the benefit of the natives. But the American Board demanded that the missions should be self-supporting. At Lapwaii there was a house of many rooms, requiring eleven fireplaces; an Indian reception room for spinning and weaving; a schoolroom and accommodations for a large family, all under one roof. Besides there was the church, sawmill, gristmill, all necessary shops and store-houses—in fact, a large establishment, the farm and its buildings added to the whole. On this farm were grown apples for the family and some surplus products to send to other missions, for use of natives and occasional travelers; but not with a demand to afford means to run the mission. Spaulding and his assistants really had made wonderful progress; visitors noticed, too, that many of the Nez Perces had small farms that greatly helped their living, but as a class, they were adverse to labor and looked on farm work as

degrading." Spauldings also operated a printing press, the first in Oregon.

The above were Spaulding's Indians.

Again we quote from Clark's "Pioneer Days:" (pages 380-381.)

"The Spokane Mission at Chimakane did not show the same improvement. The Indians were much the same, hardly so tractable as the Cayuses (Whitman's) but were given to lying with the worst of them. When the Mission house burned in the winter of 1839-1840, they behaved well, assisting in the rebuilding and refraining from thieving. The Hudson's Bay people came from Fort Colville, camped in the snow and soon rebuilt the house, though much had been destroyed. The climate there was too frosty to grow crops to advantage, so farming was neglected and supplies came from Lapwaii (Whitman's) to some extent.

"Chief Lawyer, at Lapwaii and Chief Garry, at Spokane, were each somewhat educated, Garry at Red River in Canada, and their influence was favorable to the missions. It was not reasonable to believe that with all these advantages, the Indians would not appreciate that they were benefitted and that the missionaries were devoting their lives to the hope of doing good and making the natives better and happier. There were exceptions, for occasionally one rose above the common herd and seemed to appreciate both the value of the gospel truth and the self devotion that strove to enlighten their minds and benefit their lives and surroundings, but these men were few and their influence not permanent."

Such was the condition that while the best Indians

would not join in the murder of Marcus Whitman, still they would not make a strong effort to restrain others, probably for fear of losing their authority over the tribe.

After Dr. Whitman returned from the East in the fall of 1843, he gradually lost control of the Indians in that section of the interior, until in 1847, they began serious depredations, and finally in the fall of that year, they massacred the doctor and Mrs. Whitman and a dozen or more of the people of the Mission.

This murder brought on the Cayuse war, in which the settlers of the Willamette Valley organized an army which severely chastised the tribe and tried, condemned and executed the principals in the massacre.

Coincidentally with the work of Christianizing the Indians went the work of civilizing them as well. All the missionaries soon caught the idea from Lee and were taught by their own experience and observations that the two ideas, civilization and Christianization of the Indians, could only be done by example, to make either permanent, and that neither could be done without example.

This led to a desire for immigration, and therefore the matter of immigration became the all-absorbing question. Strenuous efforts were made by all interested to publish the need of opening the country to immigration as well as did all the missionaries. Both those who came first and those who came later, except the Catholics, were from the United States and favorable to the protestant sects.

From the very start, the American settlers were ever making urgent efforts to induce Congress to extend the

laws of the United States over the whole Northwest domain, but the matter of joint occupancy was in the way of any territorial action by Congress. The people became impatient for government of some kind, as there were but two arbiters in the whole country and they without any legal power to enforce decrees.

Governor McLoughlin was universally the dictator over the hunters and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company. But the Americans did not feel that they were under any obligation to obey any mandates from Dr. McLoughlin. Lee and McLoughlin talked this matter over, and as a result, agreeable to McLoughlin, David Leslie, of the Methodist mission, was appointed by Mr. Lee as Justice of the Peace for the Americans.

This arrangement worked well for a time, but on February 15, 1841, a very important settler died, leaving an estate of something like $20,000 value. This brought about a situation which necessitated some kind of legal action. In order to meet this emergency, a meeting was called, and an organization was entered into. Dr. I. L. Babcock, a Methodist, was elected Judge and ex-officio Governor. A sheriff and constables were also appointed. Dr. Babcock administered the estate of Ewing Young to the satisfaction of all, and both Canadian and Americans were observing the new arrangements for something like two years.

In the meantime, the Americans were receiving accessions from the United States by reinforcements to the missions established by Jason Lee and others, until in the spring of 1843, a movement was put on foot to organize a provisional government until England and the United States should settle the matter of sover-

eignty. The result was that on May 2, 1843, a mass meeting was held at the warehouse of the Methodist mission at Champoeg, and the question of organization was carried by a large majority in favor of organizing a provisional government.

The Americans and a few of those who were of the Hunt party, irrespective of nationality, voted with the Americans, while most of the ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company voted against organization, well knowing that the real issue was the organization of a government that later would be turned over to England or the United States when the matter of sovereignty should be settled.

A committee was appointed to get up a system of government and report on July 5, 1843, to another mass meeting. The committee reported; the government was formed and put in operation. This lasted effectively for seven years, until the matter of sovereignty was settled, and the territorial government submitted by Congress in 1849, was adopted.

During the primitive struggle, there was much interest awakened about Oregon, and several thousand people emmigrated from Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and a few from the northern and southern states.

The writer's parents became enthused by reports of the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate and hundreds of other favorable conditions. When the matter of dispute with England and the United States was settled in 1849, and the Donation Land Bill was before Congress, the writer's parents, Thomas and Anna Rigdon, began to arrange matters that they might join the great emmigration in the spring of 1850.

The territorial bill passed Congress on February 14, 1849, and the writer was born February 16, just two days after the passage and signing of the organic law.

The new governor came and found law and order as efficient as though Congress had been in charge for years. At the time of the governor's arrival there were less than eighteen thousand white people in all the Oregon country from California, then a province of Spain, to the Russians in Alaska, and west of the Rocky Mountains, which now comprises Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and a part of Montana and Wyoming.

This hasty summary will be detailed in another chapter.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE THREE MESSENGERS

IN THE summer of 1832, three far west Indians appeared on the streets of St. Louis, the border town of Missouri. They said they had come from the setting sun; that they had heard of the white man's Book of Heaven; that they wished to obtain it, and learn how to worship the Great Spirit. General William Clarke was then in St. Louis, he of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, now general Indian agent for the government and stationed at St. Louis.

General Clarke heard of the presence of the strange visitors and had them taken to his house. It so happened, or you may call it providential if you wish, that William Walker, a half-breed Indian sent to St. Louis by the United States government to select lands west of the Mississippi River for the Wyandot Indians of Ohio, whom the government wished to remove, was also in St. Louis.

Soon after the three Indians had been seated, in came William Walker. Through knowledge of the Indian lore possessed by General Clarke and Mr. Walker, they had but little trouble in learning the mission of the Indians. From them Walker learned first of the customs and habits of these most western inhabitants of a great and wonderful country.

From these Indians Walker also learned of the great distance, more than two thousand miles, which they had come to get the white man's Book of Heaven.

It will appear, no doubt, to many that this meeting

was of divine arrangement; that an Indian from the east should meet Indians from the extreme west at the home of the principal Indian agent of the United States government, in the middle west, who had made the trip twenty-six years before, at the instance of President Jefferson.

At this time Jason Lee was on a charge up in Canada awaiting a call to go into a mission field somewhere.

Now while this matter is crystalizing in the east, let us for a few moments go back and find what became of the Indian chiefs who made the trip to St. Louis for the white man's Book of Heaven.

Sometime in the summer of 1831, the Indian tribes of the Nez Perces and the Flatheads held a council among themselves in regard to sending for the "white man's book." This meeting resulted in sending five of their most noted men and chiefs on the long journey to the east, for the coveted Book.

Here the query will naturally arise, how did these Indians, so far from civilization, know of the white man, and much less, how did they know of the Book.

They remembered the trip of Lewis and Clarke, twenty-six years or so before. Since which time trappers and hunters had been roaming over the whole northwest. No doubt many Catholics in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company had told the Indians about the Christian religion. But as no Catholic is expected to read the Bible for himself or even carry one, they had only been told about it. Possibly they had been told that their style of worship was not pleasing to the Great Spirit, and they wished to learn the correct mode of approaching the Great Spirit.

Some Indians had sent students to Montreal to be educated, and some of these students might have penetrated the far west and come in contact with the Nez Perces or Flatheads and told them of the style of worship they had seen, and of the Book from which it was taken.

The historians whom I have consulted give several pages of speculations as to how the Indians learned about the white man's God. I do not see that such speculations are of any particular profit, or even of much interest.

Of the five Indians who started, two of whom were chiefs, one gave out, fell by the way and returned, one died before reaching St. Louis, and one died before reaching home.

What a wonderfully pathetic story, considering their mission, their hopes, their desires, their failure, their disappointment and the tragic deaths of four of the cherished leaders out of five which they sent on the sacred mission. A more tragic story than that of the Jews in the wilderness.

Let us now hear the speech of Hee-Oh-ks-te-kin just before saying goodby to St. Louis. I take the interpretation of Rev. Spaulding:

"We came to you over a trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friend of our fathers who have all gone the long way. We came with one eye partly opened for more light for our people who sit in darkness. We go back with both eyes closed. How can we go back blind to our blind people?

"We made our way to you with strong arms through many enemies that we might carry back much to them. We go back to them with both arms broken.

"Two fathers came with us. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. We leave them asleep by your great waters and wigwam.

"They were braves of many winters and wars.

"Our people sent us to get the white man's Book of Heaven. You showed us where you worship the Great Spirit with candles, but the Book was not there. You showed us the images of the God Spirit, and pictures of the land beyond, but the Book was not among them to tell us the way.

"We are going back the long sad trail to our people of the dark land. You make our feet heavy with gifts and our moccasins will grow old carrying them, but the Book is not among them.

"After one more snow we tell our poor blind people in the big council that we did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go in silence. Our people will die in darkness and they will go on the long journey to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book to make the way plain. I have no more words."

One hundred years hence this speech will rank, for terseness, clearness and pathos, with such speeches as that of Regulus before the Roman senate; Washington's farewell to his troops; Mark Anthony's address at the death of Caesar, and Lincoln's at Gettysburg.

Five started—one returned, disappointed, heartbroken!

Is it any wonder Christendom became aroused and began to read the writings of Hall J. Kelley, Ledyard, Washington Irving's Bonneville, with renewed interest?

As these Indians were crossing the mountains on their way to St. Louis, they unconsciously passed Captain Nathan Wyeth, who was going west to look up a site for a trading station somewhere on the Columbia River. On his return by ship in 1833, he took two Flathead Indian boys with him to Massachusetts.

History, as far as I have read, does not inform us how Jason Lee happened to be in Boston with Wilbur Fisk at the Bloomfield Street Methodist Church as Captain Wyeth, fresh from his ship, came walking up the aisle with his two Indian boys. Possibly another wise providential occurrence.

After the sermon was concluded, Dr. Fisk and Jason Lee each gave a short addres. Captain Wyeth and the Indian boys were introduced. Captain Wyeth then made a stirring address, after which the plates were passed and $120 were raised for Indian missions.

What significance this meeting had in regard to Lee's plans is not brought out by any historian whom I have consulted.

We learn that President Fisk of Welbraham Academy had written Jason Lee about the time or soon after the report was first published in the Advocate, and received Lee's consent to go to the Oregon country and start a Methodist mission for the education and conversion of the Indians of that far off heathen land.

St. Louis was a Catholic town at that time, as it is largely today. General Clarke, also being a Catholic, took much interest in showing the Indians through the Catholic churches. But the Indians were not shown the Book.

Walker, also, became greatly interested in the In-

dians. Walker, being a Methodist, immediately wrote to G. P. Disosway, a wealthy merchant of New York, with whom he was acquainted and who had greatly assisted the Wyandots with funds, and was one of the founders of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Through Mr. Disosway, the Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald both got the story in the issue of March first, 1833. A newspaper of St. Louis also got hold of the story from General Clarke, and so it took its round through the secular press. Bishop Bashford says:

"It was like fire shut up in Fisk's bones," as he sounded the call throughout Methodism, "*Hear! Hear!* Who will respond to the call from beyond the mountains?" He made such a wonderfully strong appeal for two young men "with the spirit of martyrdom" to go into that far off land beyond the confines of the United States, to carry the gospel to these poor natives who so wished to learn of the living word and to learn how to approach the Great Spirit, as to send a deputation of their most honored chiefs two thousand miles over trackless plains, and through hostile Indian tribes, to get the knowledge of the after life.

I would like to insert the call in full, but time forbids. However, President Fisk closed by stating that he knew of one who, in his estimation, was "suitable for such an enterprise. And that one is Jason Lee, a former student of mine at Wilbraham Academy."

Bishop Emory of the Methodist church gave Lee a letter of introduction to President Jackson, which not only enabled him to get acquainted with the president,

but to make the acquaintance of senators and congressmen and other influential men around the capitol.

This introduction proved to be a very great help in later years when Lee was pleading for Oregon's recognition as a territory.

So rapidly did the summer pass away that it was almost a year before Lee got started west.

After securing the endorsement of the president and the secretaries of state and war, to found missions in the Oregon country, Lee started for St. Louis, Missouri, where all the parties were to congregate for the final start which was made on the 28th day of April, 1834.

Lee was immediately received into the New England Conference, as he was anxious to answer what he considered a providential call.

Now remember this was in the year 1833, soon after the return of the Indians from St. Louis. Oregon was then under the joint occupancy of Great Britain and the United States, since 1818, then extended to 1828, then again extended to 1838, then indefinitely on one year's notice for dissolution by either party.

Under the joint occupancy no prejudice should inure to either country. Through the influence of President Fisk, the Methodist Missionary Board appointed Rev. Jason Lee to the Oregon Mission with full authority to employ a limited number of helpers and with a credit suitable to start the work.

Lee chose his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, and two teachers, P. L. Edwards and Cyrus Shepard, and also a laborer, Courtney M. Walker as assistants.

As Captain Wyeth was planning to make another

trip overland and to send a ship around the Horn with his trading goods and supplies, Lee arranged with Wyeth for the transportation of the mission supplies, and also to make the overland trip in the captain's company.

While we are awaiting the arrival of the Overland expedition and the ship, May Decre, with the supplies, let us have a short word picture of the condition of affairs in the Oregon country.

There was not a white woman west of the Rocky Mountains, and possibly there never had been one. The Hudson's Bay Company had at this time several trading stations scattered far apart in the country. The chief station was located a few miles above the mouth of the Willamette, on the Columbia, now the city at Vancouver, Washington.

The governor was Dr. McLoughlin, who ruled the whole empire from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. He resided here and exercised autocratic authority, though somewhat benevolent, over all the country, from the Mexican line to the fifty-fourth parallel of north latitude.

Hundreds of hunters and trappers, under McLoughlin's sway, were roaming over the whole northwestern coast of America. Many of these, at some time or other, had been affiliated with the Catholic church. They were mostly English or Canadian French. Most of them were married, or pretended to be married, to Indian women. Up to this time, it was not expected that any white woman would ever think of even visiting this country, much less trying to make her home here.

On French prairie, in the northern portion of Marion County, there were about two dozen families who had taken land and were keeping up only a semblance of family life, the father being French or English, and the mother Indian or half caste. Still, their allegiance was to the Hudson's Bay Company.

There were no roads worthy of the name, but the Indian trails were plentiful for the pack horse on the Indians' annual migrations.

Dr. McLoughlin was seriously opposed to any real permanent settlement by the people of any government, as he desired to have the Oregon Country remain a great game preserve for the further enrichment of his company. Up to that time, his company had been, for twenty years, taking out about one million dollars annually, and the company wished to continue in the same line indefinitely, well knowing that permanent settlement would in time extinguish the trapping business and destroy a very lucrative trade.

This great and powerful company had succeeded in freezing out, by a successful boycott, every one of a dozen or more competitive companies, which had made large investments west of the Rocky Mountains.

However, Dr. McLoughlin was always ready to grant any needed favor, so long as it did not interfere with his fur trade. But he tried in all ways possible to discourage permanent settlement, so long as such efforts did not cause physical suffering. The doctor was, although sometimes reluctant, willing to prevent or alleviate suffering with food, clothing or medicine when necessary, irrespective of color or nationality.

Such was the attitude of Dr. McLoughlin when Jason Lee arrived at Vancouver, early in October, 1834.

CHAPTER XXX

JASON LEE

THE five missionaries immediately set to work, as the ship arrived within a few days. The doctor assisted them with boats and Indians to help them up the Willamette to their location, a few miles below the, now, city of Salem.

This location on the right bank of the river, on what has since been known as Mission Bottom, although recommended by Dr. McLoughlin, proved to be very unsatisfactory for such an enterprise. The mosquitoes were very plentiful in the summer time; and when the soil was put in a state of cultivation; and the tall grass, with its thousands of years of accumulation, rotted, fever and ague became quite prevalent. Many of the school children, not accustomed to being penned up in a close room, sickened and died. In fact, the mortality among the children was so great that it finally became necessary to abandon the location.

Chemeketa Prairie (now Salem) was chosen, and the mission was later removed to that location. This was the first American mission established on the Pacific coast, and I believe, on the whole Pacific coast, from Patagona to Alaska. I have not seen such an historical statement, yet nevertheless, I feel confident in making such a statement.

Here was the first real effort to Christianize and Americanize the Oregon Country, and that by the Methodist Church. An instance almost in the class of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth rock.

There is an uniqueness in Jason Lee's opening up of Oregon that is not always observed by the hasty perusal of the reader.

Captain Gray was a trader for profit, and incidentally, discovered the Columbia River; Lewis and Clark were explorers; Astor was an adventurer for trade; Mackenzie was an explorer for glory; the Hudson's Bay people and the Northwestern people, traders and trappers for riches; but Jason Lee and the Methodists were in Oregon for the good, only, of the natives, with little thought of even a reasonable remuneration.

All who preceded them were but dollar chasers, or urged on by some kindred ulterior motive.

Jason Lee was the first who wanted to go to Oregon for the sake of Oregon and the good of her people. In other words, he was a philanthropist who entered the uncharted west to carry the blessings of a civilized world to a people living in civil and religious darkness. A glorious concept! All hail to Jason Lee!

Lee greatly desired to establish missions in several places, viz: at The Dalles on the upper Columbia; on the Umpqua in the south; at Nisqually on Puget Sound, and at the mouth of the Columbia. But he did not have the men or the means for such expansion. This question troubled Lee very much, until he resolved to return to the United States and, if possible, induce the Mission Board to largely increase his force and furnish him with machinery for starting real civilization.

By this time, Lee had painfully learned that conversion of an Indian only increased his helplessness and sharpened his desire to live off the mission without

work. In fact, very few male Indians would work for love or money. One Indian said, "Squaws do Injen's work, I no want to be a squaw."

Dr. Whitman succeeded in getting a goodly number of Indian men to learn to work, but, a few years afterwards, one of the chiefs complained that the Indian "had become a nation of squaws," and finally they murdered Dr. Whitman and Mrs. Whitman, with fourteen other attaches of the mission.

Lee was right, uncivilized Indians will not work, as a rule.

It was easy to teach them to pray, as that was a dignified performance, and they looked upon prayer as a sort of magic or "medicine" that would supply their desires at the conclusion of their prayers; and when they saw no results, they were not only greatly disappointed, but very much angered as well. One Indian stopped Lee in the middle of his prayer, saying, "I want pants."

Lee answered, "You must work for pants."

"Oh," said the Indian, "I can get pants of the Hudson's Bay Company any time by working for them, but easier to pray."

So poor "injen" got no pants that day. Such was the disposition of the Northwest American Indians from time immemorial.

During all the generations of their mythological history, the squaws have performed all the menial service.

Lee believed that the Indian must be taught by example as well as by precept. Since the Indian would not work efficiently without example and long training,

Lee thought it necessary to get white settlers here, so he gave his attention largely toward inducing immigration. He wrote to the Mission Board to send him some farmers and mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters, millwrights, etc.

He finally succeeded in getting an acquisition of nine persons, three of whom were women. The nine names were as follows: Anna Mariah Pitman, Susan Downing, Elvira Johnson, Alanson Beers, wife and children, Dr. Elijah White and wife, W. H. Willson, a carpenter. But no farmer came. Imagine, if you can, Lee's disappointment; the most important position left vacant.

However, with this small addition to the force, Lee struggled on for another year. A petition had been sent to congress asking for protection, but nothing had been heard from it.

Lee was very busy with his small force. He finally, in 1841, reestablished at Chemeketa, the original mission, and new ones at The Dalles, on the Umpqua, at Astoria, and one on Puget Sound at Nisqually.

But Lee's hobby, that the Indian must be civilized before his conversion can be depended upon as genuine, was making poor progress.

The Methodists at the mission were all in accord with Lee's desires, that the United States government should throw its protection in some way over the Americans who were drifting in annually.

The Methodists held a meeting at the mission in which they urged Lee to go east and visit Washington, renew his acquaintance with the president and get on friendly terms with as many as possible of the Senators

and representatives, and make the effort of his life to get action from congress toward giving Oregon territorial government.

Jason Lee and David Leslie had drafted a bill for territorial government and secured a petition from every American and a few other settlers in the Willamette Valley, asking favorable consideration of the bill, and as expeditiously as practicable.

Lee appointed David Leslie to take charge, in his absence, of all mission work until his return.

He then prepared for taking the long overland journey to Washington, getting away early in March, 1838.

How I would love to follow Jason Lee through the snow over the Rocky Mountains and the plains and the valleys, some three thousand miles, for more than seven long months, in reaching Washington, but time forbids.

However, I will say that this was the quickest trip that had been made between these two extremes up to that time. I know of no quicker trip made over this course until the later day of the "pony express."

In order to show what the advocates of territorial government had to contend with, let me tell what had heretofore been attempted.

In the congress of 1820, at the instance of Congressman Floyd of Virginia, a committee was appointed to inquire into the matter appertaining to the Oregon question. Later this committee was enlarged and authorized to look into every phase of all the contentions about Oregon. On January 25, 1821, the committee made a long and exhaustive report, recommending a territorial government for Oregon. A bill, also was

prepared, which was submitted along with the report. This bill was defeated in the house by a large majority in 1822. Again in 1824, another bill passed the house, only to be tabled in the senate. A bill was again presented in 1827, and also in 1831, both of which met a similar fate.

In response to information which Lee had sent back to Washington in 1835, and especially to representations made by Hall J. Kelley, William Salcum, connected with our naval service, was sent by the government to visit the Columbia River region, arriving December 22, 1835.

Mr. Slacum was much with Mr. Lee during his stay in the Willamette Valley. Mr. Lee obtained, for Slacum, the name of every American settler in the valley, to a petition to congress for the establishment of territorial government for Oregon.

Oregon had two strong supporters in the senate: Senators Benton and Linn, both from Missouri, who fought hard against the vilifiers of Oregon.

Let us have a few samples of the opposition, to enliven the picture. When the controversy between the United States and old England was going on, John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, wrote: "Save contentions, there is no object to any party worth contending for."

In February, 1825, Senator Dickerson of New Jersey said: "Oregon can never be one of the United States. If we extend our laws to it, we must consider it a colony." He then went on to show that it would take 465 days to make the journey from Oregon to Washington and return, costing each representative $3420 for the round trip.

Congressman Tracy of New York said: "No scheme can appear more visionary than that of an internal commerce between the Hudson and Columbia. The God of nature has interposed obstacles to this connection, which neither the enterprise nor the science of this or any other age can overcome."

The facts which Lee provided in earlier letters and in Mr. Slacum's report (largely written by Lee), says Bashford, in regard to the climate and extent of fertile land in Oregon, was a real eye opener to congress, and very greatly stimulated later action.

The facts are that from the time Lee first arrived in Oregon we see his hand in almost every move looking toward the giving of information to congress about Oregon. "But none are so blind as those who will not see."

As late as 1845, Senator Winthrop, of Massachusetts said, in a jocular way: "Are our western brethern (meaning those along the east bank of the Mississippi River) straitened for elbow room or will be for a thousand years to come?"

Continuing, Mr. Winthrop said: "The West has no interest and the country has no interest in extending our territorial possessions."

This is what Lee had to meet and overcome before he could succeed. When he reached Washington, congress was in session and haggling away at the slavery question, as usual.

Lee handed in his petition and bill to the committee on foreign relations, had a conference with the president and a few of the congressmen and other acquaintances, and was heartily greeted by such men as Linn

and Benton who had been doing valiant work for Oregon against strong opposition. Then, bidding goodby to Washington for the time, Lee went to New York to have a conference with the Mission Board.

The board was taken completely by surprise. The members could not understand why Lee wanted farmers when they had sent him to convert and teach Indians, not to raise pumpkins and squashes, wheat and barley. "Why, Lee, what you need is more preachers, and we will send them as fast as they can be secured."

"But hold," said Lee, "Let me have the floor for a moment."

Jason Lee then rose up to the full height of six feet four in his boots, and poured out his soul to the members present as no man had ever heard before. He asked for farmers, blacksmiths, millwrights, carpenters, flour-millers, etc.; and implements and machinery for the cultivation of the soil.

His arguments for the necessity of Christian civilization, as the necessary adjunt to the converting and civilizing of the Indian, were overwhelming to a majority of the board, although a minority still held that the Indians must be converted through the efforts of the preacher. We do not know how Lee answered this statement, but very likely something like this: "You can chase the wild horse into the corral, but it takes more than a lariat to tame him and make him bridle wise."

They did not understand the western Indian. Christianity, as applied to the Indians through daily labor, seemed a new idea.

Lee left the board to consider the matter, and as the spring of 1839 came, he started out to preach and lecture as a means of helping the board to raise the money with which to finance his large undertaking. His work, during the spring and summer, was quite remunerative. He also got an allowance from the secret fund of the government, of fifty dollars per head for each emigrant secured, this feature "to be kept secret until the boundary question is settled."

The board finally allowed all that Lee had asked for and two more preachers than he had requested.

Full and complete outfits were procured for a sawmill, a flour mill, and farming implements sufficient for teaching the Indians the art of husbandry.

Lee chartered the good ship Lausanne at New York and had her ready for sea early in October, with his machinery and supplies carefully stowed away. And best of all, he had fifty-two passengers for the Methodist missions in Oregon and a credit of forty-five thousand dollars, the largest sum yet raised for missions.

The passage was made without serious mishap, reaching Vancouver in the spring of 1840.

Upon Lee's return from the East, he was shocked and horrified at the terrible death rate which had prevailed among the Indian children at the schools during his absence of two years. Every other feature of his work seemed to have progressed as expected, but the teaching and the christianizing of the Indian was the object of his missions.

Now if the children were not going to endure the confinement necessary to the vocation of teaching, and the adults were adverse to any kind of manual labor,

the saving of the Indian would henceforth be a task with little hope of success. But Jason Lee was not the man to give up without making an heroic effort.

With new recruits seasoned to the work, he hoped to give the work improved attention, improved methods, better sanitation, better regulations, and be in a better position to pacify the parents of the children. The Indians were getting quite suspicious of the white man's motives. Those in the upper country were really alarmed that the presence of the white people was the cause of the fast vanishing of the Indian race. A prominent chief, Pu-pu-mox-mox, had sent his son to Lee's mission for several years and now considered his son an educated gentleman. This son got into an altercation with a white man, and the white man ruthlessly shot and killed the young Indian. This death added a blaze to the already heated embers.

Chief Yellow Serpent (Pu-pu-mox-mox) came down from Walla Walla to counsel with Dr. McLoughlin over the situation. The matter was serious, as the Willamettes were waiting to see what the other Indians were going to do.

The settlers and the missionaries were aroused. Something must be done to allay the wrath of the redman.

At the conclusion of a general council, Gustavus Hines and Dr. White were delegated to go to Walla Walla and treat with those Indians, while Lee would pacify the valley tribes.

After the big pow-wow with all the immediate tribes present and participating in the council, the fear of the Indians was somewhat allayed for the time being. The

big pipe was passed around, and peace was publicly declared.

On the return of Lee to his work, he visited all the missions and found the new recruits apparently making the best of the, to them, awkward conditions. Lee, about this time, heard that congress had made no progress with his bill for territorial recognition. This news was certainly discouraging to Mr. Lee.

Lee talked the matter of self-government over with many of the Americans who were settling in the valley, and as it was the consensus of opinion that some sort of law should be established in the near future, all were in favor of calling a meeting for that purpose.

Mr. Lee called the meeting which was held in the Champoeg mission warehouse on February 7, 1841, for the purpose of consulting upon the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws and the election of officers to execute them. Lee presided at this meeting. Adjournment taken to 18th of February.

Certain historians have erroneously written of the Champoeg meeting, May 2, 1843, as the first meeting ever held for the purpose of local self-government. But notice this meeting was held two years before May 2, 1843.

On February 15, only eight days after the first meeting, one of the foremost men in the valley, Ewing Young, died, possessed of quite an estate.

Two days thereafter, February 17, the funeral was held in the Methodist Church, and was largely attended, and at the close the friends were asked to tarry and discuss plans for the meeting for the 18th—next day.

Jason Lee again presided, and Rev. Hines, was elected secretary.

As the deceased, Ewing Young, left no family, but a large estate, there seemed a necessity that some provision should be made for handling the estate.

The meeting passed a resolution authorizing a code of laws and the election of certain officers. A committee was appointed and authorized to frame a constitution and code of laws and nominate officers, then adjourned to the next day.

The French Canadians were invited to meet with the Americans the next day, February 18, 1841. At this meeting, Rev. David Leslie, presided, and Rev. Hines and Sidney Smith acted as secretaries. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved, so far as choosing the law committee. The Americans very much desired that the Canadians should participate in the organization of the country.

The committee was chosen as follows: Father F. X. Blanchet, chairman; Jason Lee, David Donipierre, Gustavus Hines, a Mr. Charlevon, Robert Moore, J. L. Parrish, Etienne Lucier, and William Johnson. As Jason Lee was the only candidate for governor, it was thought best to defer that appointment to a later date. The meeting then chose officers as follows: I. L. Babcock, supreme judge, with probate power; George W. LeBreton, clerk of the court and public recorder; William Johnson, high sheriff; and Xavier Laderant, Pierre Billique and William McCarty, constables; and "until the code of laws be drafted, Judge Babcock should be instructed to act according to the laws of the state of New York."

The meeting then adjourned to convene at the Catholic mission at St, Paul (on the Willamette River

a few miles above Champoeg) on the 7th of June. The place of meeting at the Catholic mission was manifestly to placate the French and secure their further co-operation.

However, the favor granted to the Canadians did not materialize as hoped for. Dr. McLoughlin opposed the whole scheme. Father Blanchet failed to call the committee together, so the meeting was a failure. After accepting Father Blanchet's resignation, W. J. Baily was appointed as a member of the committee. Then the committee was instructed to report at an adjourned meeting of the convention to be held on the first Thursday in October. This meeting for October was never held.

So much opposition was shown by the Hudson's Bay people that the Americans concluded to drop the effort to complete the organization for the present, at least, and await the action of congress.

Nevertheless, a *de facto* government had been organized, but not completed. "Dr. Babcock had been elected supreme judge with probate powers." For two years he was the head and front of authority in Oregon. He had administered the estate of the late Ewing Young satisfactorily to all concerned.

However, the question of organization was not allowed to sleep. During the winter a debating society was organized at the Falls and was functioning much of the time. The question of completing the territorial organization was freely discussed.

At one time Mr. Abernethy proposed for discussion the following question: "If the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country, it will not be expedi-

ent to form an Independent government." This question was warmly discussed.

However, in the fall of 1842, the French were again asked to join in an effort to complete the organization of the government heretofore left uncompleted. Although Dr. McLoughlin showed considerable opposition, yet the French had been submitting to the officers who were elected. Another meeting was also held at which no progress was made, further than discussion and agitation.

Jason Lee was the leading spirit in five of these meetings. He wrote the calls and had them circulated, and also kept the subject ever before the settlers.

W. H. Gray, who had come to the country with Marcus Whitman over the mountains in 1836, had left the Walla Walla country and come to the Methodist mission, taking employment under Jason Lee, as a carpenter, was active in the meeting. At the instance of Lee, no doubt, Mr. Gray, took up the agitation for government, as Mr. Lee's name does not again appear in connection with the subject. Although I have seen no statement to this effect, yet it is a reasonable conclusion to me that Gray, upon Lee's request, arranged to carry on this feature of Lee's plans. Again, Mr. Lee had little time for detail work. With all his missions on his hands, he was a very busy man.

W. H. Gray advertised for a meeting to be held at the Methodist mission on February 2, 1843. As this meeting had not been sufficiently advertised to get out a satisfactory attendance, all the meeting did was to appoint a committee of the settlers to circulate a notice for all the settlers in the Willamette Valley to

meet at the home of Joseph Gervais, on March 6, to devise protection for flocks and herds from the ravages of wolves.

The Canadians had heretofore suggested March 4th, but this date was, somehow, overlooked, so all heartily attended the wolf meeting on March 6th.

As soon as the meeting agreed on the bounty to be given on "wolf" scalps, Gray, by an understanding with the chairman, introduced the subject of better protection for the settlers as well as for their live stock. Gray, it is said, made a very able plea for a committee of twelve to devise a complete plan of government.

Gray's motion prevailed, and the committee was appointed. This is the committee that reported at the meeting at Champoeg on the second day of May, 1843. The report was for organization for a complete government. After much discussion, the report was adopted "by a great majority." Many think this was the initial step for Oregon self-government. Lee was not present, as no doubt he and Gray thought the French Catholics would offer less opposition if Lee were seemingly unconcerned about organization.

Some will contend that Mr. Lee had lost interest in the matter of organization, because he was not at Champoeg to attend that meeting on May 2, 1843. But they are mistaken, as Mr. Lee had turned the agitation over to Mr. Gray as heretofore stated, on account of the press of other business and in deference to the French Canadians.

I am unable to look upon Mr. Gray as the sole originator of the meeting of 1843. True, he was the manager of all those meetings of 1843, and managed

them well, showing much generalship. Mr. Gray was an employee of Mr. Lee at the time and only took up the work as handed him by Mr. Lee and carried it to a successful conclusion after Mr. Lee had put in two whole years paving the way for the final outcome. I would not rob anyone of an ounce of his proportion of the credit due for saving Oregon to the United States, while I am trying to give Jason Lee credit for his indefatigable efforts, which I think were paramount to anything done by any other person or circumstance.

Consider with me a few of the circumstances for which Mr. Lee should have credit:

Jason Lee secured from President Jackson and the secretaries of the interior and of war, permission for founding missions in Oregon. He then went east and lectured on Oregon in nearly all the states east of the Mississippi, including Iowa and Illinois, in 1838 and 1839, taking two Indian boys with him, inducing the people of Illinois to send two well-equipped and fair-sized trains overland to Oregon, without which Oregon might not have been saved to the United States.

He induced the government to allow him $50 for the passage of each immigrant. By this means he secured fifty persons at one time, when greatly needed to uphold our Flag. Counting those four who went with Lee on his first trip, the fifteen sent to him later by the Mission Board, and fifty-two he took on the Lausanne, Lee was responsible for a majority of the Americans in Oregon during the early forties.

Lee preached the first sermon west of the Rocky Mountains. The Methodists organized the first church, the first permanent school, built the first American

sawmill, the first American flour mill, etc. Lee gathered statistics for the government and for Congress, wrote petitions and memorials and bills for the consideration of Congress, and continually urged Congress to make haste on the Oregon question. He enlisted such men as Benton, Linn, Thornton, and others in Congress to work in the interest of Oregon. For two years, he kept up a continual agitation for government, proving himself to be a thorough statesman in every particular and one of the most self-sacrificing, statesmanlike, and heroic men who ever undertook such a gigantic job in the interest of mankind.

Jason Lee gave ten years to the work of humanity while suffering all kinds of hardships, even to the sacrificing of his life upon the altar of self-abnegation.

Some time in December Lee started for the East by way of the Sandwich Islands. When he arrived at the islands, he learned that it would be several months before any ship would be leaving for the Atlantic ports, but a schooner was sailing within a few days for Mazatlan on the Mexican coast, from whence he could go overland to New York. So he took passage on the schooner to Mexico, thence overland, reaching New York during the spring of 1844.

When his business with the Mission Board was concluded Jason Lee addressed a few audiences in the interest of Oregon.

By this time, his health was rapidly failing, the result of ten years of strenuous labors under adverse conditions and many exposures incident to a new and uncivilized country.

He retired to his old home in lower Canada, where

he soon died in the house where he was born just forty-one years before.

Lee was succeeded by Rev. George Gary, who closed the missions and sold the mission properties to the Methodist church, in 1846. A number of the mission preachers returned to the east, leaving but five Methodist preachers to carry on the work of the church.

The superintendent, Rev. Gary, supplied The Falls (Oregon City); Rev. A. F. Waller went to The Dalles; Rev. David Leslie took the upper valley, (Salem); Rev. Gustavus Hines took the Tuality Plains, residing at The Falls; and Rev. J. L. Parrish was continued at Astoria. Here we have the start of the circuit rider, in Oregon, as there were several preaching places where it was desirable to have preaching semi-occasionally, some must hold two appointments.

Although the Indian work was finally taken over by the government, the churches welcomed the few Indians who were trying to live the Christian life, and did much preaching on the Indian reservations. Some will still contend that the missions were a perfect failure.

But remember that religion and sobriety was successfully planted here. Missions were the forerunners of the churches. They blazed the way through the forests, laid the foundations of statehood, published the advantages of our climate, the fertility of our soil, the natural resources of the country in general, and were the chief factors in saving the country to the United States.

I do not say that the Methodists and Jason Lee are entitled to all the credit. No, there were many others

who are entitled to high honors as well. But I will say that Jason Lee's influence and his direct work were of more potency than that of any other person in the settlement of Oregon.

Harvey W. Scott, the great editor of the Oregonian, in his History of Oregon Days, says there never was any danger of our losing the territory south of the Columbia, and the writer is seriously inclined to look at the matter from Mr. Scott's standpoint, that is after the missions were established. But the opinion of the conditions on the north of the Columbia is to the contrary.

There is no doubt that at one time England fully expected to make a strong contention for all north of the Columbia and hold it, even to the hazard of war. But Lee got into the Sound country at Nisqually and took possession. He established a flourishing mission, and held a rousing Fourth of July celebration. His appointee, Dr. Richmond, delivered the oration and sang the Star Spangled Banner and My Country 'Tis of Thee. Captain Wilkes was present there with his marines, and a goodly number of Americans participated in the festivities, making a genuine Independence Day celebration.

One of Dr. Richmond's notable utterances was as follows: "The whole of this magnificent region of country, so rich in the bounties of nature, is destined to become a part of the American Republic."

Dr. McLoughlin was expected to be present, but no doubt, seeing that the Americans were going to attend in such force that his home government (England) might severly censure him for participating in a Fourth

of July demonstration in what she considered her own domain, he evidently felt it to be the better part of wisdom as well as policy that he should be conspicuous by his absence.

This first celebration of the American Independence Day on the North Pacific coast was held July 4th, 1841. The audience was composed of the following: Captain Wilkes, U. S. A.; Dr. J. P. Richmond, his assistants at the mission; a few Hudson's Bay officers; the ship's officers; one hundred marines; and four hundred Indians. This great display at Nisqually, antedating by four years any attempt by the British to start civilization north of the Columbia, nullifing forever, all efforts made by England to establish occupancy prior or superior to that of the Americans.

Without the effort of Jason Lee, it should be plain to any unprejudiced mind, the burden of establishing priority north of the Columbia would have all fallen upon Dr. Whitman east of the Cascades and Mackenzie's exploration. Let carpers say what they may about our claim south of the Columbia, there can be no doubt in the minds of people who are well informed on the subject, that without Jason Lee in the West and Dr. Whitman on the east of the Cascades, we were in very great danger of losing all the territory north of the river.

Had it not been for the vacillating course of Presidents Polk and Tyler in treating the Oregon question, we might have gone to the latitude of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north, instead of forty-nine.

President Polk was elected on the slogan, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." Tyler was also bound up in the same agreement.

The matter was not concluded during President Polk's administration, but he put forth no effort to comply with his promises, either during his term or after retirement.

President Tyler, who succeeded him, even with Daniel Webster, entered into a villainous scheme to fix our northern line at the Columbia River. Thanks to such men as Linn and Benton, senators from "Old Missouri," who demanded to be shown. Some historians think these senators expected to make Oregon a slave state or at least had some such hopes.

Long and hard was the struggle, but the ship was held on an even keel by Jason Lee and his coadjutors while the English and Canadians tried hard to rock the boat.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE YEARS OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE seven years of provisional government passed quickly by, as it now seems in looking back. But slow progress marked the years. The most interesting feature of the times was politics. One might ask, what did they want of politics. "Sure they were politicians at home and they brought their politics with them." Many were from the South and had brought their slaves with them and expected to make a slave state. Others were from Iowa, Illinois, and were "black abolitionists," but none wanted free "niggers prowling around their homes."

Every stripe of politics abroad in the East was running at large in Oregon. Fiery orators? Yes, we had them in plenty as the days went by. Then again, that boundary line to the north had not been established, and we might have war at most any time with England. Our slogan during the campaign of President Polk was "54-40 or Fight," but for once, we failed. We did not get 54°, 40′; neither did we fight. Lord Aberdeen finally asked the compromise which was accepted. This fixed the line at the 49th degree north, and the thirty year old controversy was settled and every American rejoiced, even though we had the slavery question still on our hands.

President Buchanan signed the treaty June 15, 1846, before President-elect Polk had been inaugurated.

However, the Oregon people, although they lost out on "54-40 or fight," still were happy that the con-

troversy was settled. Congress now took up the matter of creating a territory out of that portion south of the Columbia. For nearly three years, Congress haggled over the slavery question and finally left the matter to the territory to decide for itself. The bill creating the "Oregon Territory" passed Congress and was signed by the President, February 14, 1849.

Joseph Lane, the appointee for governor, reached Oregon City, the provisional capital, in March, 1849.

From the inauguration of the governor, we consider the Era of Settlement should emerge into the Era of Development, and this chapter should close with the mention of a few of the principal actors in this wonderful drama.

After the provisional government was organized in 1843, and law and order began to prevail, the country was divided into counties, and school districts; churches, schoolhouses and public halls began to exercise a very salutary influence in the Willamette Valley and throughout the southern section of Oregon.

Many great inconveniences were bravely and, usually, cheerfully endured. Rough and stumpy roads in the summer and deep sticky mud in the winter, were some of the unpleasant experiences endured. Long distances from the home to the school and to the trading posts and the saw and flouring mills were experienced as every day affairs. Being a long way from the markets of the world for supplies and little market for surplus productions made life more spicy than attractive. Buckskin clothing, homespun jeans and flannels, and flannel caps, homemade wheat straw hats in summer, hand cradles, wooden moldboards plows

and brushwood harrows or "drags" were articles found in the farm equipment nearly everywhere one might travel.

The sheep were sheared by hand, the wool was carded by hand, spun by hand and woven into cloth by hand, on a loom made by hand here, or hauled over the mountains from "Old Missouri" or some other domain more than three thousand miles away.

But after all there was little need for law in those formative days. Families were orderly, neighbors cordial, accommodating and obliging; school children bidable, studious and aspiring. Christmas, Fourth of July and a small travelling menagerie made up the annual entertainments. In winter, we had the apple-peelings, spelling-schools, the candy-pullings, the debating clubs and the country "shindigs," All or nearly all, of these would now be considered slavish drudgeries.

The old retired sea captain, the wornout pathfinder, the disabled explorer, were all welcome in many a pioneer home. They rolled in the back log, poked up the fire and told wonderful tales of the seas and the cannibals, and the hair-breadth escapes on the wave and in the jungles. Were we happy those days? Surely we were. Why? Because we knew of nothing better. We only have to think we are happy to be happy. To the writer, who was in his boyhood, those were the golden days of Oregon. Now looking back from a distance of more than eighty years we have a kindly feeling for the good old days in far away Oregon

CHAPETR XXXII

LEE AND McLOUGHLIN COMPARED

MRS. EVA EMERY DYE tells us that Dr. John McLoughlin was the "Father of Old Oregon," and we are inclined to agree with her when we have a definition of "Old Oregon." Very little is known of Oregon prior to Gray's discovery of the Columbia River. Although it must be conceded that Oregon was very old at that time, 1792. Yes, Oregon must have been here, in 1492, when Columbus found this great continent; just how long this continent had been in its present geological form must be left to the speculations of the geologists As to the length of time the continent has been inhabited by human beings is a matter for the speculation of the ethnologist.

All pertaining to "Old Oregon" prior to 1792, must be referred to the same sources. We will consider "Old Oregon" only from 1792 to 1843.

Dr. McLoughlin was born in Canada in the year 1784, eight years before the discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray. Dr. McLoughlin's parents were both Catholic and had their child baptized and enrolled in the Roman Catholic church when he was sixteen days old. He was educated in Canada, and Scotland, studied medicine, joined the Northwest Company and in 1821, was put in charge of Fort Williams, the principal depot of the company. When the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company coalesced, the doctor was placed in charge of the business at Astoria in the Oregon country, but in 1824 moved to Van-

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

couver, six miles above the mouth of the Willamette, on the Columbia River. Dr. McLoughlin held the office of chief factor from 1824 to 1846, over the whole Oregon country, which now comprises Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. Over all the country he was known later as the "Old White Head." The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered by England and given absolute power (plenary powers) over all the Oregon country, in all cases, save felonies, but in rare instances the doctor assumed and executed that authority. He was the judge, the jury, the prosecutor and the executioner. Certainly Dr. McLoughlin was the "Father of Old Oregon." There was no questioning his authority, yet his government was along benevolent lines. But what was he here for, and what was his company here for? For the almighty pound sterling, for all that could be realized by fair, sometimes doubtful means. The doctor was here for twelve thousand dollars per annum, and to do whatever was necessary to perpetuate that remuneration. The doctor was a truthful man, and a very accomodating man so long as fidelity to these principles did not clash with his interests in his company. The doctor was not here to foster immigration or business in general; he was here for the one single purpose of earning his salary by filling the coffers of the most arbitrary, grasping and heartless company that ever fastened its fangs upon American soil. The company was good to the Indians so long as their friendship was valuable to the company. The Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly attracted a goodly number of American traders to the northwest. Personally the

doctor was kind and considerate of them, but he inaugurated a system of boycotting through which he drove everyone of them into bankruptcy and then purchased their assets for a pittance of their actual worth.

While the American traders were striving to establish themselves in legitimate business and occasionally falling by the way, the Methodist missionaries, under Jason Lee and others under Dr. Marcus Whitman and W. W. Spaulding, began to exert their influence on the country for the purpose of civilizing and Christianizing Indians. Dr. McLoughlin received them all graciously and even went out of his way to befriend them in any manner possible so long as his actions did not conflict with the best interest of his company. No reasonable man could expect him to do more, as he was here for the perpetuity of his company and he must maintain his fidelity to his employer or resign. But all must admit that in many instances Dr. McLoughlin went much farther in his friendly assistance than a strict fidelity to his company justified. No doubt the doctor well deserves the cognoman of "Father of Old Oregon." But on the advent of the missionaries, Jason Lee, Marcus Whitman, W. W. Spaulding and others, the scene was destined to a very great change.

These people came not to rob the country of its resources or to enslave and keep in ignorance its people, but to bring the blessings of religion and civilization to a heathen world.

The great natural resources were hereafter to be used for development of the country and not for its depletion, not for the enrichment of a foreign land, not for building up some great and grinding monopoly six

thousand miles away, not to fall into the hands of a monarchy, but to build up a community of self-governing and free people. The man most responsible for this great change was Jason Lee, an American who happened to be born just across the national line in Canada, of American parents who paid their taxes in the United States and who fought in and upheld the American Revolution. While Dr. McLoughlin can maintain the title of father and governor of "Old Oregon," Jason Lee should bear the title of "Father of New Oregon." I hope the reader will take this view of the matter when the work of the two men is sufficiently contrasted.

Jason Lee came to Oregon country in 1834, and from that time to 1841, the authority over the country was somewhat divided. There was an understanding between Lee and McLoughlin that Jason Lee should appoint a man to act as justice of the peace for the Americans. This arrangement worked fairly well until the Americans, in 1841, began the agitation for provisional government, when a government was partially organized and functioned fairly well until 1843, when the provisional government was completed. From that date Dr. McLoughlin's authority was nil on the south of the Columbia.

The question can very properly be asked; what has Dr. McLoughlin done in the way of permanency for Oregon? Had he organized any beneficial enterprises? Had he laid the foundations for any institutions of learning? Had he proposed any plan or government whereby the people could have the benefit of civilized order, or made any attempt to give the accused

the trial by jury? A thousand questions such as the above, could be asked with propriety all of which could be truthfully answered in the negative; none of which could militate against Dr. McLoughlin as an honest, upright, truthful, benevolent man of integrity and sobriety. Not one word would the writer say against the character of Dr. McLoughlin; but to gain the title of "Father of Oregon" after 1841, some of the questions above must be answered in the affirmative. But after all we must honor the doctor for the many favors and courtesies fairly showered upon the needy of all colors and nationalities. In these matters he went further than was pleasing to his proprietors, and in not a few cases he was smitten by the hands of those he so generously fed. Notwithstanding Dr. McLoughlin's generosity to the Americans and others for which he was entitled to great credit, it seems to this writer that these friendly acts are the doctor's only contribution to the aid of the American settlement of New Oregon. All other labors of his seem to have vanished like the bursting of a bubble.

When the vote was taken at Champoeg on May 2nd, 1843, Jason Lee, who had done more than any one to bring about the conditions resulting in the organization of an American state, giving much of his time for more than two years to that matter, was nearing the close of his arduous labors. But the foundation for a great state had been laid. The United States had not yet passed the territorial act, but the bill was fairly on the way. The national line had not yet been settled but the main work was far along for settlement. The educational system had not yet been fully developed,

the subdivision of the domain into counties had only begun, the Indians had not yet been thoroughly subdued, and a thousand other projects were in an embryonic state, but all the elementary work was in such an advanced degree that nothing could retard its speedy progress. Looking back from this distance we can see that the labors of Jason Lee and the American missionaries, with the annual accessions of sturdy Americans, were all in the interest of building up of a great commonwealth.

The real difference between Jason Lee and Dr. McLoughlin, both good and just men, was simply the difference in purpose, one for building up of a great country; the other for increasing the power and wealth of a great foreign monopoly. Each was true to his purpose. Truly Dr. McLoughlin was the father of "Old Oregon," which is only known in memory like a tale that has been told until it has become so threadbare that it falls to pieces of its own weight. Or like a giant tree which has been for ages a harbor and protector for beasts and birds, and now fallen prostrate on the earth to pass away, leaving only a memory that it ever existed. In a different manner does Jason Lee appear as the father of New Oregon from 1843 to the full maturity of a mighty empire, whose developments are daily progressing at an almost if not quite unprecedented speed like a seed planted in friendly soil, nurtured and protected by its sponsors until it has attained the power to care for and reproduce its kind for generations to come.

These men are both worthy of fitting memorials in remembrance of their fidelity to the cause they rep-

resented. The one should be provided by the great monopoly for which he gave the best part of his life and the other by the donations of a grateful people whose incipiency was called into action and firmly planted in the hills and vales of verdant Oregon, to bless generations yet unborn. Listen a moment to the language of one of Dr. McLoughlin's friends, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, (page 131): "All that time (when Lee was abroad 1838-'39), Dr. McLoughlin was toiling abroad for the aggrandizement of England on the Pacific; Jason Lee, the missionary, was lecturing in the states. He woke up congress, suggested that a mile square of land be offered to immigrants. He stirred up the entire country. Through Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, conceived the idea of trading in the Columbia." In response to his call for men and money, the Methodist Board granted $4,000, and a mission colony of fifty-three persons, ministers, mechanics, farmers and teachers; sailed out on the ship (Lausanne) from New York harbor. When the Lausanne arrived at Vancouver, Dr. McLoughlin was very greatly surprised, but yet did not fully realize that his sun was on the decline. When J. L. Parrish told him that he expected to live to see wagon trains coming over the mountains, the doctor laughed at the suggestion and said: "Why, man, you might as well talk of going over the moon," and when in 1843 he heard that one thousand emmigrants were bringing hundreds of wagons and hundreds of cattle through the mountains he almost dropped in his tracks; said the story was unbelievable. The doctor soon felt his power and authority rapidly slipping away. It was too late to recoup, too late to

reverse his policy. His many friendly acts were overbalanced by his rigid boycotting policy. He resigned from the service of his company, hated by his employees, unrighteously despised by the many whom he had favored. His last wail was: "In my old age I find myself a man without a country. Having renounced my allegance to Great Briton, now I am rejected by the United States." His life was a failure because of the peculiar situation in which he was placed. A man of greater vision might have divined the end from the beginning, but the doctor served for the day only; while Jason Lee had a vison of the future ever before him and his soul and energy were building along the lines of his vision. Lee could see the Willamette Valley filled with farms and its thousands of happy homes and a million prosperous people, the whole country dotted with schools and churches. He could hear the whistles of innumerable factories. He did much to cause his vision to come true.

APPENDIX

Journal of the Preliminary Meetings Prior to the Formation of a Permanent Government in 1843

THE OREGON ARCHIVES

Including the Journals, Governors' Messages and Public Papers of Oregon, from the earliest attempt on the part of the people to form a government, down to, and inclusive of the session of the territorial legislature, held in the year 1849, collected and published pursuant to an act of the legislative assembly, passed Jan. 26, 1853.

By La Fayette Grover, Commissioner.

Salem: Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1853.

PREFACE

In the preparation for publication of "The Oregon Archives," the Commissioner has been met with many obstacles to the perfect success and early completion of the important work assigned him. Within the proper depository of the public papers he has not been able to find entire and satisfactory records of all that, he is satisfied, has transpired in Oregon of a public general nature, and which would be of eminent historic importance. In this case, he has spared no pains to search out from other authentic and reliable sources all such information as would fill existing blanks or furnish sufficient explanation of seeming discrepancies and wants. But so short a time has been allotted him to bring his work to a close, that it goes from his hand with many fears, lest it may prove less perfect than it should.

He is most happy here to acknowledge the valuable assistance and information which he has derived during the course of his labors from the Hon. J. Quinn Thornton, Dr. Wm. H. Willson, and Revs. David Leslie and Josiah L. Parrish, as well as from many others who bore important parts in the early history of our territory. The commissioner also acknowledges the efficient aid of C. P. Crandall, Esq. in the immediate completion of the Archives.

L.F.G.

Salem, O. T., September, 1853.

PUBLIC MEETING, HELD FEB. 17, 1841.

At a meeting of some of the inhabitants of the Willamette Valley, for consultation concerning the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws, and the election of officers, to execute the same, for the better preservation of peace and good order, the following business was transacted:—

Rev. Jason Lee was chosen chairman, and Rev. Gustavus Hines was chosen secretary.

On motion,

Resolved—That an addition of one be made to the committee of arrangement, chosen at a previous meeting.*

On motion,

Resolved—That the chairman nominate this committee-man.

Geo. Le Breton, was nominated and elected.

Resolved—That it be recommended that there be a committee of seven, elected for the purpose of drafting a constitution and code of laws, for the government of the settlements, south of the Columbia River.

It was then

Resolved—That all settlers, north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of our laws, on making application to that effect.

The meeting then proceeded to advise the committee of arrangements, to propose the making of certain officers, to wit:—

*No record of the meeting here referred to has been found, but it has been ascertained that it was merely an informal preliminary consultation of a few persons, immediately connected with the American mission station, in the Willamette Valley. Nothing of importance was transacted, except the election of the committee above noticed.—Com.

A Governor; a Supreme Judge, with probate powers; three Justices of the Peace; three constables; three Road Commissioners; an Attorney-General; a Clerk of the Courts, and Public Recorder; one Treasurer; two Overseers of the Poor.

It was recommended to nominate persons to fill the several offices, and that they be chosen viva voce.

The meeting then resolved itself into committee of the whole, for the purpose of choosing candidates for the several offices, and after having nominated persons to fill the various offices, it was

Resolved—That the doings of the committee of the whole be deposited in the hands of the chairman, to be presented to the meeting to-morrow.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned, to meet at eight o'clock, to-morrow.

February 18, 1841.

At a full meeting of the inhabitants of Willamette Valley, at the American Mission House,

David Leslie was elected chairman, and Sidney Smith, and Gustavus Hines, were chosen secretaries.

The doings of the previous meeting were presented to the assembly, and were accepted, in part; viz.:—

That a committee be chosen for framing a constitution, and drafting a code of laws; and that the following persons compose the committee; to wit:—

Rev. F. N. Blanchet, Rev. Jason Lee, David Donpierre, Gustavus Hines, Mr. Charlevon, Robt. Moore, J. L. Parrish, Etienne Lucie, and Wm. Johnson.

J. L. Babcock, was appointed to fill the office of supreme judge, with probate powers.

Geo. Le Breton, was chosen to fill the office of clerk of courts, and public recorder.

Wm. Johnson, was chosen to fill the office of high sheriff.

Havier Laderant, Pierre Billique, and Wm. M'Carty, were chosen constables.

Resolved—That, until a code of laws be adopted by this community, Dr. Babcock be instructed to act, according to the laws of the state of New York.

Resolved—That this meeting now adjourn, to meet on the first Tuesday of June, at the New Building, near the Catholic church.

Tuesday, June 1, 1841.

An adjourned meeting of the inhabitants of the Willamette Valley, at the New Building, near the Catholic church, was called to order by the chairman.

On motion, the doings of the former meeting were read.

The report of the committee, for drafting a constitution and code of laws, was called for, and responded to by the Chairman and others, that no meeting of the committee had been held, consequently no report had been prepared.

Rev. F. N. Blanchet requested to be excused from serving further upon the committee to draft a constitution and code of laws, and was excused.

On motion,

Resolved—That one person be chosen to make up the number of said committee.

Dr. Bailey was chosen.

On motion,

Resolved—That this committee be instructed to meet on the first Monday in August next.

On motion,

Resolved—That this committee be instructed to report to an adjourned meeting, on the first Tuesday in October next.

On motion,

Resolved—That the committee, for drafting constitution and laws, be instructed to confer with the Commodore of the American Squadron, and John M'Loughlin, chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, with regard to forming a constitution, and code of laws, for this community.

Resolved—That the motion, to adopt the report of the nominating committee, presented to a former meeting, be reconsidered.

Resolved—That the committee to draft a constitution, &c., be instructed to take into consideration, the number and kind of offices it will be necessary to create, in accordance with their constitution and code of laws, and report the same to the next meeting, and that the report of the nominating committee be referred to said committee.

Moved and carried, that this meeting adjourn, to meet at the

American Mission House, at eleven o'clock, on the first Tuesday in October next.

(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH,
GUSTAVUS HINES,
Secretaries.

PROCEEDINGS

Of a Meeting held at the Oregon Institute, February 2, 1843.

A public meeting, of a number of the citizens of this colony, was called, in order to take into consideration the propriety of adopting some measures, for the protection of our herds, &c., in this country.

On motion,

Dr. J. L. Babcock was called to the chair, who proceeded to state the objects of the meeting, and the necessity of acting,

Mr. W. H. Gray moved, and, Mr. Torn seconded the motion—That a committee of six be appointed to notify a general meeting, and report business, &c., which motion was carried, and Messrs. Gray, Beers, Gervais, Willson, Barnaby, and Lucie, were appointed said committee.

Mr. Beers moved, that a general meeting be called, at the house of Mr. Jos. Gervais, on the first Monday in March next, at ten o'clock, A.M., which motion was carried.

W. H. WILLSON,
Secretary.

J. L. BABCOCK,
Chairman.

JOURNAL

Of a Meeting at the house of J. Gervais, 1st Monday in March, 1843.

In pursuance of a resolution of a previous meeting, the citizens of Willamette Valley met, and the meeting being called to order,

Mr. James O'Neil was chosen chairman.

Mr. Mantine was chosen as secretary, but declining to serve,

Mr. Le Breton was chosen.

The doings of the former meeting were read.

The committee, appointed to notify a general meeting, and report business' made the following report, to wit:—

Your committee beg leave to report as follows:—

It being admitted by all, that bears, wolves, panthers, &c., &c., are destructive to the useful animals, owned by the settlers of this colony, your committee would respectfully submit the following resolutions, as the sense of this meeting, by which the community may be governed in carrying on a defensive and destructive war against all such animals:—

Resolved—

1st. That we deem it expedient for this community, to take immediate measures for the destruction of all wolves, bears, and panthers, and such other animals as are known to be destructive to cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs.

2nd. That a treasurer be appointed, who shall receive all funds and dispense the same, in accordance with drafts drawn on him, by the committee appointed to receive the evidences of the destruction of the above-named animals; and that he report the state of the treasury, by posting up public notices, once in three months, in the vicinity of each of the committee.

3rd. That a standing committee of eight be appointed, whose duty it shall be, together with the treasurer, to receive the proofs or evidences of the animals, for which a bounty is claimed, having been killed in the Willamette Valley.

4th. That a bounty of fifty cents be paid for the destruction of a small wolf; $3,00, for a large wolf; $1.50, for the lynx; $2.00, for the bear; and $5.00, for the panther.

5th. That no bounty be paid, unless the individual claiming said bounty give satisfactory evidence, or by presenting the skin of the head with the ears, of all animals for which he claims a bounty.

6th. That the committee and treasurer form a board of advice to call public meetings, whenever they may deem it expedient, to promote and encourage all persons to use their vigilance in destroying all the animals named in the 4th resolution.

7th. That the bounties, specified in the 4th resolution, be limited to whites and their descendants.

8th. That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the

chairman, and Secretary, and a copy thereof be presented to the recorder of this colony."

On motion, the report was accepted.

It was then moved and seconded, that the report be laid on the table, which was carried.

It was moved and seconded, that the first resolution, in the report of the committee, be adopted, which was carried.

It was moved and seconded, that a sum be raised, by contribution, for the protection of our animals, which was carried.

It was moved and seconded, that a third resolution,* as amended, be adopted, which was carried.

It was moved and seconded, that two collectors be appointed to receive all subscriptions, retaining five per cent, for collecting the same, and pay the amount over to the treasurer, taking his receipt for the same, which was carried.

On motion, the fifth resolution was adopted.

On motion, the sixth resolution, as amended, was adopted.

On motion, it was

Resolved—That no one receive a bounty, (except Indians,) unless he pay a subscription of $5.00.

On motion, the seventh resolution was adopted.

On motion, the eighth and ninth resolutions were adopted.

It was moved and seconded, that the Indians receive one-half as much as the whites.

It was moved and seconded, that all claims, for bounties, be presented within ten days from the time of becoming entitled to said bounties, and, if there should be any doubts, the individual claiming a bounty shall give his oath to the various circumstances, which was carried.

On motion, W. H. Gray was chosen treasurer.

It was moved that Messers, M'Roy, Gervais, Maitune, S. Smith, Dougherty, O'Neil, Shortess, and Lucien be the standing committee, which motion was carried.

It was moved, that G. W. Le Breton and Mr. Bridges be the collectors, carried.

On motion, the first resolution was adopted.

*The original did not exhibit any amendment nor was any amendment found among the papers, either to this resolution or to the others, subsequently mentioned in this journal.—Com.

Resolved—That no money be paid to any white, or his descendants, previous to the time of his subscription.

Resolved—That the bounty of a minor child be paid to a parent or guardian.

Resolved—That the draft for receiving subscriptions, be drawn by Mr. Gray and Mr. Le Breton.

Resolved—That drafts on Fort Vancouver, the mission, and the milling company, be received on subscriptions, as payment.

Resolved—That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony.

Resolved—That said committee consist of twelve persons.

Messers. Dr. Babcock, Dr. White, O'Neil, Shortess, Newell, Lucie, Gervais, Hubbard, M'Roy, Gray, Smith, and Gay, were appointed said committee.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

G. W. Le Breton, Secretary. James O'Neil, President.

ADDRESS,

Of the Canadian Citizens of Oregon, to the meeting at Champoeg, March 4th, 1843

We, the Canadian citizens of the Willamette, considering, with interest and reflection, the subject which unites the people at the present meeting, present to the American citizens, and particularly to the gentlemen who called said meeting, the unanimous expression of our sentiments of cordiality, desire of union and inexhaustible peace between all the people, in view of our duty and the interest of the new colony, and declare,

1st. That we wish for laws, or regulations, for the welfare of our persons, and the security of our property and labors.

2nd. That we do not intend to rebel against the measures of that kind taken last year, by a party of the people; although we do not approve of certain regulations, nor certain modes of laws, let those magistrates finish their time.

3rd. That we will not address a new petition to the Govern-

ment of the United States, because we have our reasons, till the line be decided, and the frontiers of the states fixed.

4th. That we are opposed to the regulations anticipated, and exposed to consequences for the quantity, direction, &c., of lands, and whatsoever expense for the same lands, because we have no direct guarantee from the government to come, and, perhaps, tomorrow, all those measures may be broken.

5th. That we do not wish a provisional mode of government, too self interested, and full of degrees, useless to our power, and overloading the colony instead of improving it; besides, men of laws and science are too scarce, and have too much to do in such a new country.

6th. That we wish either the mode of senate or council, to judge the difficulties, punish the crimes, (except capital penalties,) and make the regulations suitable for the people.

7th. That the same council be elected and composed of members from all parts of the country,and should act in body, on the plan of civilized countries in parliament, or as a jury, and to be represented, for example, by the president of said council, and another member, as judge of peace, in each county, allowing the principle of recalling to the whole senate.

8th. That the members should be influenced to interest themselves to their own welfare, and that of the public, by the love of doing good, rather than by the hope of gain, in order to take off from the esteem of the people all suspicions of interest in the persons of their representatives.

9th. That they must avoid every law loading, and inexpedient to the people, especially to the new arrivals. Unnecessary taxes, and whatever records are of that kind, we do not want them.

10th. That the militia is useless at present, and rather a danger of bad suspicion to the Indians, and a delay for the necessary labors; in the same time, it is a load; we do not want it, either, at present.

11th. That we consider the country free, at present, to all nations, till government shall have decided; open to every individual wishing to settle, without any distinction of origin, and without asking him anything, either to become an English, Spanish, or American citizen.

12th. So we, English subjects, proclaim to be free, as well as those who came from France, California, United States, or even natives of this country; and we desire unison with all the respectable citizens who wish to settle in this country; or, we ask to be recognized as free amongst ourselves, to make such regulations as appear suitable to our wants, save the general interest of having justice from all strangers who might injure us, and that our reasonable customs and pretensions be respected.

13th. That we are willing to submit to any lawful government, when it comes.

14th. That we do not forget that we must make laws only for necessary circumstances. The more laws there are, the more opportunities for roguery, for those who make a practice of it; and, perhaps, the more alterations there will be some day.

15th. That we do not forget in a trial, that before all fraud on fulfilling of some points of the law, the ordinary proofs of the certainty of the fact ought to be duly weighed, so that justice may be done, and no shame given for fraud.

16th. In a new country, the more men employed and paid by the public, the less remains for industry.

17th. That no one can be more desirous than we are, for the prosperity, ameliorations, and general peace of the country, and especially for the guaranty of our rights and liberties; and such is the wish we make for all those who are, or may become, our fellow countrymen, &c., for long years of peace.

(Then follow our names and persons.)

PUBLIC MEETING, AT CHAMPOOICK, MAY 2, 1843.

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Willamette settlements, held in accordance with the call of the committee, chosen at a former meeting, for the purpose of taking steps to organize themselves into a civil community, and provide themselves with the protection, secured by the enforcement of law and order.

Dr. J. L. Babcock was chosen chairman, and Messrs. Gray, Le Breton, and Willson, secretaries.

The committee made their report, which was read, and a motion was made, that it be accepted, which was lost.

Considerable confusion existing in consequence.

It was moved by Mr. LeBreton, and seconded by Mr. Gray, that the meeting divide, preparatory to being counted; those in favour ot the objects of this meeting taking the right, and those of a contrary mind taking the left, which being carried by acclamation, and a great majority being found in favour of organization, the greater part of the dissenters withdrew.

It was then moved and carried, that the report of the committee be taken up, and disposed of article by article.

A motion was made and carried, that a supreme judge, with probate powers, be chosen to officiate in this community.

Moved and carried, that a clerk of the court, or recorder, be chosen.

Moved and carried, that a sheriff be chosen.

Moved and carried, that three magistrates be chosen.

Moved and carried, that three constables be chosen.

Moved and carried, that a committee of nine persons be chosen, for the purpose of drafting a code of laws, for the government of this community, to be presented to a public meeting to be hereafter called by them, on the fifth day of July next, for their acceptance.

A motion was made and carried, that a treasurer be chosen.

Moved and carried, that a major, and three captains, be chosen.

Moved and carried, that we now proceed to choose the persons to fill the various offices, by ballot.

W. E. Willson was chosen to act as supreme judge, with probate powers.

G. W. Le Breton was chosen to act as clerk of court, or recorder.

J. L. Meek was chosen to fill the office of sheriff.

W. H. Willson was chosen treasurer.

Moved and carried, that the remainder of the officers be chosen by hand ballot, and nomination from the floor.

Messrs. Hill, Shortess, Newell, Beers, Hubbard, Gray, O'Neil, Moor, and Dougherty, were chosen to act as as the legislative committee.

Messrs. Burns, Judson, and A. T. Smith, were chosen to act as magistrates.

Messrs. Elbert, Bridges, and Lewis, were chosen to act as constables.

Mr. John Howard was chosen major.

Messrs. Wm. M'Carty, C. M'Ray, and S. Smith, were chosen captains.

Moved and carried, that the legislative committee make their report on the 5th day of July next, at Champooick.

Moved and carried, that the services of the legislative committee be paid for, at $1.25, per day, and that the money be raised by subscription.

Moved and carried, that the major and captains be instructed to enlist men to form companies of mounted riflemen.

Moved and carried, that an additional magistrate and constable be chosen.

Mr. Campo was chosen as an additional magistrate.

Mr. Matthew was chosen as an additional constable.

Moved and carried, that the legislative committee shall not sit over six days.

The meeting was then adjourned.

The question having arisen, with regard to what time the newly-appointed officers shall commence their duties, the meeting was again called to order, when

It was moved and carried, that the old officers remain in office till the laws are made and accepted, or until the next public meeting.

Attest G. W. Le Breton.

JOURNAL

Of the Legislative Committee, May 16th, 1843.

WILLAMETTE, May 16, 1843.

The legislative committee met, and came to order, by choosing Mr. Moore, chairman, and G. W. Le Breton, secretary.

On motion of Mr. Gray, a committe of three, Messrs. Gray, Shortess, and Newell, was appointed to prepare rules, and business, for this house.

The committee, appointed to prepare rules and business for the house, made their report.

The report was taken up, and the rules were adopted, article by article.

On motion, it was decided that the committee sit with open doors.

Moved and carried, that a judiciary committee be appointed by the chair.

Messrs. Beers, Hubbard, and Shortess, were appointed.

Moved and carried, that a committee of ways and means be appointed.

Messrs. Shortess, O'Neil, and Dougherty, were appointed.

Moved and carried, that the motion, authorizing the chairman to appoint the chairman of the committee of ways and means be reconsidered.

Messrs. Shortess, O'Neil, and Dougherty, were then chosen committee of ways and means.

Moved and carried, that a committee, on military affairs, be appointed by the chair.

Messrs. Hubbard, Newell, and Gray.

Moved and carried, that a committee, on private land claims, be appointed by the chair.

Messrs. Shortess, Dougherty, and Hill.

Moved and carried, that a committee, on the division of the country into districts, not to exceed five, be appointed by the chair.

Messrs. Gray, Dougherty, and Beers, were appointed.

Moved and carried that the House adjourn till eight o'clock tomorrow morning.

May 17, 1843.

The house was called to order by the chairman, and Mr. Gray appointed secretary, pro tem. The session was then opened with prayer. The minutes of yesterday's session were read, corrected, and accepted.

The committee on judiciary reported in part. The report was accepted.

The committee on land claims reported in part. The report was accepted.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn, for the preparing of business, for one hour and a-half.

The time of adjournment having expired, the house was called to order, by the chairman.

The judiciary reported progress. Accepted.

The committee, on military affairs, reported in part. The report was accepted.

The committee, on districts, reported in part. Report was accepted.

It was moved, that there be a standing committee, on finance, which was lost.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn till half-past one O'clock, P.M.

Half-past 1 o'Clock, P.M.

The house was called to order by the chairman.

Moved and carried, that the house go into committee of the whole, upon reports of committee; Mr. Gray in the chair.

Moved and carried, that the committee now rise.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn for one hour.

At the end of an hour the house met, pursuant to adjournment.

Moved and carried, that the house go into committee of the whole, upon reports of committees; Mr. Gray in the chair.

The committee rose.

It was moved, that the report of district committee, as amended be adopted.

Carried.

Moved and carried, that the house take a recess of fifteen minutes.

The time of recess having expired, the house was called to order.

Committee on military affairs reported progress, and requested instructions.

The house went into committee of the whole; Mr. Newell in the chair.

The committee rose, and the house adjourned till to-morrow.

May 18, 1843.

The house met, pursuant to adjournment, and the session was opened by prayer.

The minutes of yesterday's session were read, corrected, and accepted.

Moved and seconded, that a committee be appointed to prepare a paper, for the signatures of all persons wishing an organization which was lost.

Moved and carried, that the rules of the house be amended by inserting an article, to be called "the ninth."

Committee of ways and means reported in full.

Accepted, and laid on the table for adoption.

Moved and carried, that the rules of the house be amended so as to make the appointment of committees the fourth rule.

The house went into committee of the whole; Mr. Newell in the chair.

Committee rose.

It was moved and carried, that the report committee, on military affairs, be recommitted to same committee, with instructions for further action.

The judiciary committee reported, in part. Report was accepted.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn; Mr. Newell having the floor.

The house was called to order, again, at the expiration of the time of adjournment.

House went into committee of the whole.

Committee rose.

On motion, the house took a recess of one hour.

Upon meeting again, it was moved and carried, that the committee of ways and means be instructed to prepare a subcription, for presentation at the general meeting, to procure funds to defray the expenses of the government.

House went into committee of the whole.

Committee rose,

And the house adjourned till to-morrow.

May 19, 1843.

The house met, pursuant to adjournment.

The roll being called, the session opened with prayer.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn, till the call of the chairman.

The house came to order, according to adjournment.

Moved and carried, the minutes of the 18th be accepted.

It was moved and carried, that a committee of three be appointed, to prepare and arrange all the business that has been, or may be, done hereafter, at this session, revising statutes of Iowa, &c., &c., to report at the next session of the committee, and request the clerk to copy the same.

Messrs. Gray, Beers, and O'Neil, were appointed said committee.

Committee of ways and means, reported a subscription paper, pursuant to instructions. Report was accepted.

Moved and carried, that the report be adopted.

Committee, on military affairs, reported in part. Report accepted.

House went into committee of the whole.

Committee rose.

House adjourned to two o'clock, P.M.

At two o'clock the house met.

The judiciary committee reported in full. Report was accepted.

Moved and carried, that the 4th article of the original laws, be reconsidered.

Moved and carried, that the proviso, to the fourth article, be adopted.

Moved and carried, that the fourth article of original law, as amended, be adopted.

House went into committee, of the whole, upon the judiciary bill; Mr. Beers in the chair.

Committee rose.

Moved and carried, that the report of committee of judiciary be adopted.

Moved and carried, that the report of judicial committee be referred to revising committee.

House went into committee, of the whole, upon military affairs; Mr. Hubbard in the chair.

Committee rose, and

The house adopted report of committee, on military affairs, and referred it to the committee on revision.

The house took a recess of half-an-hour, and, when assembled again,

It was moved and carried, that, when this house adjourn, it adjourn to meet on the last Thursday in June, at this place.

This committee recommend to the public that they appoint an executive committee of three.

Moved and carried, that the committee of three give notice to this effect, and give the reasons for the same.

Moved and carried, that the minutes of the house be accepted.

Moved and carried, that the article, appointing a revision committee, be amended, so as to read as amended.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn by uniting in prayer.

June 27, 1843.

The house met, pursuant to adjournment. Being called to order by the chairman, the session was opened by prayer.

The roll being called, there were present, Messrs. Moore, Hill, Beers, and O'Neil.

There being no quorum, the house adjourned to five o'clock, P.M.

At five o'clock the house met. Present, the same; whereupon the house adjourned to eight o'clock, Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY, June 28, 1843.

House met, pursuant to adjournment. Present, Messrs. Moore, Beers, Hill, O'Neil, and Shortess, constituting a quorum.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn for one hour, to meet at the Hospital.

Met, pursuant to adjournment, Present, the same.

Moved and carried, that the revising committee be called upon for their report.

The revising committee reported.

Moved and carried, that the third article, section two, of organic law, be amended, by inserting the words "or affirmation," after the word "oath."

Moved and carried, that the report of the revising committee, so far as the judiciary is concerned, be passed.

Moved, that the report of revising committe, so far as relates to ways and means, be rejected.

Lost.

Moved and carried, that the report of committee, on revision, so far as relates to ways and means, be adopted.

Moved and carried, that the report of revising committee, on military affairs, be adopted.

Moved and carried, that the report of revising committee, on private land claims, be adopted.

Moved and carried, that the report of revising committee, on districts, be amended, to read as passed.

Moved and carried, that the report, of revising committee, be amended, in the second and fourth articles, as passed.

Moved and carried, that the report of revising committee, upon districting the territory, as amended, be passed.

Moved and carried, that the chairman, of the legislative committee, present the report of said committee to the chairman of the public meeting, on the fifth of July next, and request the said committee be discharged from further service.

Moved and carried, that the house adjourn, to meet at Champooick, on the fifth of July next, at the call of the chairman.

(Signed) ROBT. MOORE,
Chairman.

Attest.
G. W. Le Breton,
Clerk.

For further proceedings, see "Oregon Archives," by Grover.

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